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HISTORY

OF THE

DIVIDING LINE

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Historical Documents
Other Tracts.

FROM THE PAPERS OF

WILLIAM BYRD,

OF WESTOVER, IN VIRGINIA, ESQUIRE.

VOL. II.

Journey to the Land of Eden, Etc.



Richmond, Va. :

1866.

HISTORY

BY THE

DIVIDING LINE

1841

AND

AND

Other States

FROM THE MOUNTAINS

WILLIAM BYRD,

OF WESTOVER, IN VIRGINIA, ESQUIRE.

VOL. II.

Journey to the Land of Eden, Etc.

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No. III.

“Gather up the Fragments that remain.”

JOURNEY
TO THE
LAND OF EDEN
AND
Other Tracts.

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WILLIAM BYRD,
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Printed from the Original Manuscript.


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JOURNEY
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LAND OF EDEN
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Other Tracts.

BY
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Richmond, Va.:

1866.



A
JOURNEY
TO
THE LAND OF EDEN:
ANNO 1733.



AVING recommended my Family to the Protection ¹⁷³³
of the Almighty, I crost the river with 2 Servants ^{Sept. 11}
and 4 Horses, and rode to Colo. Mumford's. There
I met my Friend, Mr. Banister, who was to be the kind
Companion of my Travels. I stayd dinner with the
Good Colonel, while Mr. Banister made the best of his
way home, to get his Equipage ready, in order to join me the
next day. After dining plentifully, and wishing all that was
good to the household, I proceeded to Major Mumford's, who
3 had also appointed to go along with me. I was the more obliged
to Him, because he made me the Complement to leave the Arms
of a pretty Wife, to lye on the Cold Ground for my Sake. She
seemed to chide me with her Eyes, for coming to take her Bed-
fellow from her, now the Cold weather came on, and to make
my peace, I was forced to promise to take abundance of Care
of Him, in Order to restore him Safe and Sound to her Em-
braces.

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Sept. 12

After the Major had cleared his Pipes, in calling with much Authority about him, he made a Shift to truss up his Baggage about Nine a'Clock. Near the Same Hour my Old Friend and Fellow Traveller, Peter Jones, came to us compleatly accoutred. Then we fortifi'd ourselves with a Beef-Steake, kil't our Landlady for good Luck, and mounted about ten. The Major took one Robin Bolling with him, as Squire of his Body, as well as Conductor of his Baggage. Tom Short had promised to attend me, but had marry'd a Wife and could not come. We crost Hatcher's Run, Gravelly Run, Stony Creek, and in the distance of about 20 Miles reach't Sappony chappel, where Mr. Banister join'd us. Thus agreeably reinforce't we proceeded ten Miles further, to Major Embry's, on the South Side of Nottoway River. The Major was ill of a purging and vomiting, attended with a Feaver which had brought him low; but I prescribed him a Gallon or two of Chicken Broth, which wash't him as clean as a Gun, and quench't his feaver. Here Major Mayo met us, well equip't for a March into the Woods, bringing a Surveyor's Tent, that would Shelter a Small Troop. Young Tom Jones also repaired hither to make his Excuse; but Old Tom Jones, by the priviledge of his Age, neither came nor sent, so that we were not so strong as we intended, being disappointed of 3 of our Ablest Foresters. The Entertainment we met with was the less Sumptuous by Reason of our Landlord's Indisposition. On this Occasion we were as little Troublesome as possible, by sending part of our Company to Richard Birch's, who lives just by the Bridge over the River. We sent for an Old Indian called Shacco-Will, living about 7 Miles off, who reckon'd himself 78 years Old. This fellow pretended he could conduct us to a Silver Mine, that lyes either upon Eno River, or a Creek of it, not far from where the Tuscaruros once lived. But by some Circumstances in his Story, it seems to be rather a Lead than a Silver Mine. However, such as it

is, he promised to go and Shew it to me whenever I pleased. To comfort his Heart, I gave him a Bottle of Rum, with which he made himself very happy, and all the Family very miserable by the horrible Noise he made all Night. 1733
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Our Landlord had great relief from my Remedy, and found 13 himself easy this Morning. On this Account we took our departure with more Satisfaction, about Nine, and having pick't up our Friends at Mr. Birch's, pursued our Journey over Quoi-que Creek, and Sturgeon Run, as far as Brunswick Court house, about 12 Miles beyond Notoway. By the way, I sent a Runner half a Mile out of the Road to Colo. Drury Stith's, who was so good as to come to us. We cheer'd Our hearts with Three Bottles of pretty good Madeira, which made Drury talk very hopefully of his copper Mine. We easily prevailed with him to let us have his Company, upon condition we would take the Mine in our way. From thence we proceeded to Meherin River, which lys 8 Miles beyond the Court house, and in our way forded Great Creek. For fear of being belated, we called not at my Quarter, where Don Pedro is Overseer, and lives in good Repute amongst his Neighbours. In Complement to the little Major we went out of our way, to ly at a Settlement of his upon Cock's Creek, 4 Miles Short of Roanoak. Our Fare here was pretty Coarse, but Mr. Banister and I took Possession of the Bed, while the rest of the Company lay in Bulk upon the Floor. This Night the little Major made the first discovery of an impatient and peevish Temper, equally unfit both for a Traveller and a Husband.

In the Morning my friend Tom Wilson made me a Visit, 14 and gave me his Parole that he would meet us at Blue Stone Castle. We took Horse about Nine, and in the distance of Ten Miles reach't a Quarter of Colo. Stith's, under the Management of John Tomasin. This Plantation lies on the West Side of Stith's Creek, which was so full of Water, by reason of

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Sept.

a Fresh in the River, that we cou'd not ford it, but we and our Baggage were paddled over in a canoe, and our Horses swam by our Sides. After Staying here an Hour, with some of Diana's Maids of Honour, we cross't Miles' Creek a Small Distance off, and at the End of Eight Miles were met by a tall, meager Figure, which I took at first for an Apparition, but it proved to be Colo. Stith's Miner. I concluded that the unwholesome Vapours arising from the Copper Mine had made this Operator such a Skeleton, but upon Enquiry understood that it was Shear Famine had brought him so low. He told us his Stomach had not been blef't with one Morfel of Meat for more than three Weeks, and that too he had been obliged to Short Allowance of Bread, by reason Corn was Scarce and to be fetch't from Tomafin's, which was ten long Miles from the Mine where he liv'd. However, in Spite of this Spare dyet, the man was chearfull, and uttered no Complaint. Being conducted by him, we reach't the Mines about five a'clock, and pitch't our Tents, for the first time, there being yet no Building erected but a Log-house, to Shelter the Miner and his two Negroes. We examined the Mine and found it dip't from East to West, and shew'd but a Slender Vein, embody'd in a hard rock of White Spar. The Shaft they had open'd was about 12 feet deep, and 6 Over. I saw no more than one Peck of good Ore above Ground, and that promis'd to be very Rich. The Engineer seem'd very sanguine, and had not the least doubt but his Employer's Fortune was made. He made us the Complement of 3 Blasts, and We filled his Belly with good Beef in return, which in his hungry Circumstances was the most agreeable Present we cou'd make him.

- 15 It rain'd in the Morning, which made us decamp later than we intended, but the Clouds clearing away about ten, We wish't good luck to the Mine and departed. We left Colo. Stith there to keep fast with his Miner, and directed our Course thro'

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Sept.

the Woods to Boucher's Creek, which hath its Name from an honest Fellow that lives upon it. This place is about 6 Miles from Colo. Stith's works, and can also boast of a very fair Shew of Copper Oar. It is dug out of the side of a Hill, that rises gradually from the Creek to the House. The good Man was from Home himself; but his Wife, who was as old as one of the Sybills, refresh't us with an Ocean of Milk. By the Strength of that Entertainment, we proceeded to Mr. Mumford's Quarter, about 5 Miles off, where Joseph Colson is Overseer. Here our thirsty Companions rais'd their drooping Spirits with a chearfull Dram, and having wet both Eyes, we rode on 7 Miles farther to Blue Stone Castle, 5 whereof were thro' my own Land, that is to say, all above Sandy Creek. My Land there in all extends 10 Miles upon the River; and 3 charming Islands, namely, Sapponi, Occaneeche, and Totero, run along the whole length of it. The lowest of these Islands is three Miles long, the next 4, and the uppermost 3, divided from each other by only a Narrow Strait. The Soil is rich in all of them, the Timber large, and a kind of Pea, very gratefull to Cattle and Horses, holds green all the Winter. Roanoke River is divided by these Islands; that part which runs on the North Side is about 80 Yards, and that on the South more than 100. A large Fresh will overflow the lower part of these Islands, but never covers all, so that the Cattle may always recover a Place of Security. The Middlemost Island, called Occaneeche Island, has several fields in it where Occaneeche Indians formerly lived, and there are still some remains of the Peach Trees they planted. Here grow likewise excellent wild Hops without any Cultivation. My Overseer, Harry Morris, did his utmost to entertain me and my Company; the worst of it was, we were obliged all to be litter'd down in one Room, in Company with my Landlady and four children, one of which was very Sick, and consequently very fretfull.

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This being Sunday, and the place where we were quite out of Christendom, very little Devotion went forward. I thought it no harm to take a Sabbath day's Journey, & rode with my Overseer to a new Entry I had made upon Blue Stone Creek, about 3 Miles from the Castle, and found the Land very fertile & convenient. It consists of Low Grounds and Meadows on both Sides the Creek. After taking a View of this, we rode 2 Miles farther to a Stony Place, where there were some Tokens of a Copper Mine, but not hopefull enough to lay me under any Temptation. Then we return'd to the Company, and found Tom Wilson was come according to his promise, in order to proceed into the Woods along with Us. Jo. Colson likewise entered into pay, having cautiously made his Bargain for a Pistole. There were 3 Tuskeruda Indians, (which I understood had been kept on my Plantation to hunt for Harry Morris,) that with much ado were also persuaded to be of the party. My Landlady cou'd not forbear discovering some broad Signs of the fury, by breaking out into insolent & passionate Expressions against the poor Negroes. And if my Presence cou'd not awe Her, I concluded she could be very outrageous when I was an hundred Miles off. This inference I came afterwards to understand was but too true, for, between the Husband and the Wife, the Negroes had a hard time of it.

- 17 We set off about nine from Blue Stone Castle, and rode up the River 6 Miles, (one half of which distance was on my own Land,) as far as Major Mumford's Quarter, where Master Hogen was Tenant upon Halves. Here were no great Marks of Industry, the Weeds being near as high as the Corn. My Islands run up within a little way of this Place, which will expose them to the Inroad of the Major's Creatures. That call'd Totero Island, lyes too convenient not to receive Damage that way; but we must guard against it as well as we can. After the Major had convict Himself of the Idleness of his Tenant, he

return'd back to Blue Stone, and Harry Morris and I went in quest of a fine Copper Mine, which he had Secured for me in the Fork. For which purpose, about a Quarter of a Mile, higher than Hogen's, we crost a Narrow Branch of the River into a small Island, not yet taken up, and after traversing that, forded a much wider Branch into the Fork of the Roanoke River. Where we landed was near 3 Miles higher up than the Point of the Fork. We first directed our Course Easterly towards that Point, which was very Sharp, and each Branch of the River Where it divided first seem'd not to exceed 80 Yards in Breadth. The Land was broken and barren off from the River, till we came within half a Mile of the Point where the Low-grounds began. The Same Sort of Low Ground run up each Branch of the River. That on the Staunton (being the Northern Branch) was but Narrow, but that on the South, which is called the Dan, seem'd to carry a wedth of at least half a Mile. After discovering this Place, for which I intended to enter, we rode up the Mid-land 5 Miles to view the Mine, which in my Opinion hardly answered the Trouble of riding so far out of our way. We returned downwards again about 4 Miles, and a Mile from the Point found a good Ford over the North Branch, into the upper end of Totero Island. We crost the River there, and near the Head of the Island saw a large Quantity of Wild Hops growing, that smelt fragrantly, and seem'd to be in great perfection. At our first Landing we were so hampered with Brambles, Vines and Poke Bushes, that our Horses could hardly force their way thro' them. However, this Difficulty held only about 25 Yards at each end of the Island, all the rest being very level and free from Underwood. We met with Old Fields where the Indians had formerly liv'd, and the Grass grew as high as a Horse and his Rider. In one of these Fields were large Duck Ponds, very firm at the Bottom, to which Wild fowl resort in the Winter. In the Woody part of the Island

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grows a Vetch, that is green all the Winter, and a great Support for Horses & Cattle, tho' it is to be fear'd the Hogs will root it all up. There is a Cave in this Island, in which the last Tetero King, with only 2 of his Men, defended himself against a great Host of Northern Indians, & at last oblig'd them to retire. We forded the Streight out of this into Occaneechy Island, which was full of large Trees, and rich Land, and the South part of it is too high for any Flood less than Noah's to drown it, we rode about 2 Miles down this Island, (being half the length of it,) where finding ourselves opposite to Blue Stone Castle, we pass'd the River in a canoe, which had been ordered thither for that purpose, & join'd our Friends, very much tired, not so much with the length of the Journey, as with the heat of the Weather.

- 18 We lay by till the return of the Messenger that we sent for the Ammunition, and other things left at the Court house. Nor had the Indians yet join'd us according to their Promise, which made us begin to doubt of their Veracity. I took a Solitary Walk to the first Ford of Blue Stone Creek, about a Quarter of a Mile from the House. This Creek had its Name from the Colour of the Stones, which pav'd the Bottom of it, and are so smooth that tis probable they will burn into Lime. I took care to return to my Company by Dinner time, that I might not trespass upon their Stomachs. In the Afternoon I was paddled by the Overseer and one of my Servants up the Creek, but cou'd proceed little farther than a Mile because of the Shoal Water. All the way we perceiv'd the Bottom of the Creek full of the Blue Stones above mention'd, Sufficient in quantity to build a large Castle. At our return we went into the Middle of the River, and stood upon a large Blue Rock to Angle, but without any Success. We broke off a Fragment of the Rock, and found it as heavy as so much Lead. Discouraged by our ill Luck, we repair'd to the Company, who had procured some

Pieces of Copper Oar from Cargil's Mine, which seem'd full of Metal. This Mine lies about 2 Miles higher than Major Mumford's Plantation, and has a better Shew than any yet discover'd. There are so many appearances of Copper in these Parts, that the Inhabitants seem to be all Mine-mad, and neglect making of Corn for their present necessities, in hopes of growing very Rich hereafter.

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The Heavens lowr'd a little upon us in the Morning, but, like 19 a Damsel ruffled by too bold an Address, it soon clear'd up again. Because I detested Idleness, I caus'd my Overseer to paddle me up the River as far as the Streight that divides Occaneechy from Totero Island, which is about 20 Yards wide. There runs a Swift Stream continually out of the South part of the River into the North, and is in some places very deep. We cross the South part of the opposite Shoar, to view another entry I had made, beginning at Buffalo Creek and running up the River to guard my Islands, and keep off bad Neighbours on that Side. The Land seems good enough for Corn along the River, but a Quarter of a Mile back tis broken, and full of Stones. After satisfying my Curiosity, I return'd the way that I came, and shot the same Streight back again, and paddled down the River to the Company. When we got home, we laid the foundation of two large Cities. One at Shacco's, to be called Richmond, and the other at the Point of Appamattuck River, to be nam'd Petersburg. These Major Mayo offered to lay out into Lots without Fee or Reward. The Truth of it is, these two places being the uppermost Landing of James and Appamattux Rivers, are naturally intended for Marts, where the Traffick of the Outer Inhabitants must Center. Thus we did not build Castles only, but also Cities in the Air. In the Evening our Ammunition arriv'd safe, and the Indians came to us, resolving to make part of our Company, upon Con-

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dition of their being Supply'd with Powder and Shot, and having the Skins of all the Deer they kill'd to their own proper use.

20 Every thing being ready for a March, we left Blue Stone Castle about ten. My Company consisted of 4 Gentlemen (Namely, Maj Mayo, Maj Mumford, Mr. Banister and Mr. Jones,) and 5 Woodsmen, Thomas Wilson, Henry Morris, Joseph Colson, Robert Bolling and Thomas Hooper, 4 Negroes and 3 Tuscaruda Indians. With this small Troop we proceeded up the River as far as Hogen's, above which, about a quarter of a Mile, we forded into the little Island, and from thence into the Fork of the River. The Water was risen so high, that it ran into the Top of my Boots, but without giving me any Cold, altho I rid in my wet Stockings. We Landed 3 Miles above the point of the Fork, and, after marching three Miles farther, reacht the Tenement of Peter Mitchell, the higheft Inhabitant on Roanoke River. Two Miles above that we forded a Water, which we named Birche's Creek, not far from the Mouth, where it discharges itself into the Dan. From thence we rode thro charming Low-Grounds, for 6 Miles together, to a larger Stream, which we agreed to call Banister River. We were puzzled to find a Ford by reason the Water was very high, but at last got safe over, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ Mile from the Banks of the Dan. In our way we kill'd 2 very large Rattle-Snakes, One of 15 and the other of 12 Rattles. They were both fat, but nobody would be perswaded to carry them to our Quarters, altho they would have added much to the Luxury of our Supper. We pitcht our Tents upon Banister River, where we feasted on a Young Buck which had the ill luck to cross our way. It rain'd great part of the Night, with very loud Thunder, which rumbled frightfully amongst the tall Trees that Surrounded us in that low Ground, but, thank God! without any Damage. Our Indians kill'd 3 deer, but were so lazy they brought them not to the Camp, pretending for their Excuse that they were too lean.

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The necessity of drying our Baggage prevented us from marching till 11 a'clock. Then we proceeded thro low-Grounds which were tolerably wide for 3 Miles together, as far as a Small Creek, named by us Morris's Creek. This Tract of Land I perswaded Mr. Banister to enter for, that he might not be a lofer by the Expedition. The Low Grounds held good a Mile beyond the Creek, and then the Highland came quite to the River, and made our travelling more difficult. All the way we went we perceiv'd there had been tall Canes lately growing on the Bank of the River, but were universally kill'd; And inquiring into the reason of this destruction, we were told that the Nature of those Canes was, to shed their Seed but once in Seven Years, and the Succeeding Winter to dye, and make Room for Young ones to grow up in their Places. Thus much was certain, that 4 Years before we saw Canes grow and flourish in Several Places, where they now lay dead and dry upon the Ground. The whole distance we travell'd in this day by Computation was 15 Miles, and then the Appearance of a black Cloud, which threaten'd a Gust, oblig'd us to take up our Quarters. We had no sooner got our Tents over our Heads, but it began to rain and thunder furiously, and one Clap succeeded the Lightening the same Instant, and made all tremble before it. But, blessed be God! it spent its fury upon a tall Oak just by our Camp. Our Indians were so fearfull of falling into the hands of the Cataubas, that they durst not lose Sight of us all day; so they kill'd nothing, and we were forc'd to make a temperate Supper upon Bread and Cheefe. It was Strange we met with no Wild Turkeys, this being the Season in which great Numbers of them used to be seen towards the Mountains. They commonly perch on the high Trees near the Rivers and Creeks. But this Voyage, to our great Misfortune, there were none to be found. So that we cou'd not commit that Abomination, in the Sight of all Indians, of mixing the Flesh of Deer & Turkeys in our Broth.

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We were again oblig'd to dry our Baggage, which had thoroughly soakt with the heavy Rain that fell in the Night. While we staid for that, our Hunters knockt down a Brace of Bucks, wherewith we made ourselves amends for our Scanty Supper the aforegoing Night. All these Matters being duly perform'd made it near Noon before we Sounded to Horse. We marcht about 2 Miles over fine low-Grounds to a most pleasant Stream, which we nam'd the Medway, and by the way discover'd a rich Neck of Highland that lay on the South Side of the Dan, and lookt very tempting. Two Miles beyond the Medway, we forded another Creek, which we called Maofty Creek. The whole distance between these 2 Streams lay exceeding rich Land, & the same continued 2 Miles higher. This Body of Low-Ground tempted me to enter for it, to serve as a Stage between my Land at the Fork, and the Land of Eden. The Heavens lookt so menacing that we resolv'd to take up our Quarters 2 Miles above Maofty Creek, where we intrencht ourselves on a rising Ground. We had no sooner taken these Precautions, but it began to rain unmercifully, and to put out our Fire as fast as we cou'd kindle it; nor was it only a hasty Shower, but continued with great impetuosity most part of the Night. We preferred a dry Fast to a Wet Feast, being unwilling to expose the People to the Weather, to gratify an unreasonable Appetite. However it was some comfort, in the Midst of our Abstinence, to dream of the delicious Breakfast we intended to make next Morning, upon a fat Doe and two-year-Old Bear our Hunters had kill'd the Evening before. Notwithstanding all the Care we cou'd take, several of the Men were dripping wet, and among the rest, Harry Morris dabbled so long in the Rain, that he was seized with a Violent Fit of an Ague that Shook him almost out of all his Patience.

23 It was no loss of time to rest in our Camp according to the Duty of the day, because our Baggage was so wet it needed

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a whole day to dry it. For this purpose we kindled 4 Several Fires, in the absence of the Sun, which vouchsafed us not one kind look the whole day. My Servant had dropt his Great-Coat Yesterday, and 2 of the men were so good-Natured as to ride back and look for it to-day, and were so lucky as to find it.* Our Indians having no Notion of the Sabbath, went out to hunt for Something for dinner, and brought a Young Doe back along with them. They laughd at the English for losing one day in Seven; tho the Joke may be turned upon them for losing the whole Seaven, if Idleness and doing nothing to the purpose may be called loss of time. I lookt out narrowly for Ginseng, this being the Season when it wears its Scarlet Fruit, but neither now nor any other time during the whole Journey cou'd I find one Single Plant of it. This made me conclude that it delighted not in quite so Southerly a Climate; And in truth I never heard of its growing on this Side of 38 Degrees of Latitude. But to make amends we saw abundance of Sugar Trees in all these Low-Grounds, which the whole Summer long the Woodpeckers tap, for the sweet Juice that flows out of them. Towards the Evening, a Strong Norwester was so kind as to sweep all the Clouds away, that had blacken'd our Sky, and moisten'd our Skins, for some time past.

The rest the Sabbath had given us made every Body alert this 24 Morning, so that we mounted before Nine a'clock. This Diligence happened to be the more necessary, by reason the Woods we encountered this day were exceedingly Bushy and uneven. At the distance of 4 Miles we forded both Branches of Forked Creek, which lay within 1000 Paces from each other. My Horse fell twice under me, but, thank God! without any Damage either to Himself or his Rider; and Maj'r Mayo's Baggage Horse roll'd down a Steep Hill, and Ground all his Biscuit to Rocahominy. My greatest disaster was that, in mounting one of the Precipices, my Steed made a Short turn and gave my Knee an

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unmerciful Bang against a Tree, & I felt the Effects of it Several Days after. However, this was no Interruption of our Journey, but we went merrily on, and 2 Miles farther crost Peter's Creek, and 2 Miles after that Jones' Creek. Between these Creeks was a Good breadth of Low-Grounds, with which Mr. Jones was tempted, tho he shook his head at the distance. A little above Jones' Creek, we met with a pleasant Situation, where the Herbage appear'd more inviting than usual. The Horses were so fond of it that we determin'd to Camp there, altho' the Sun had not near finish'd his Course. This gave some of our Company leisure to go out and search for the Place where our Line first crost the Dan, and by good luck they found it within half a Mile of the Camp. But the Place was so altered by the desolation which had happen'd to the Canes, (which had formerly fringed the Banks of the River a full Furlong deep,) that we hardly knew it again. Pleas'd with this discovery, I forgot the Pain in my knee, and the whole Company ate their Venison without any other Sauce than keen Appetite.

- 25 The Weather now befriending us, we despatcht our little Affairs in good time, and marcht in a Body to the Line. It was already grown very dimm, by reason many of the markt Trees were burnt or blown down. However, we made Shift, after riding little more than half a Mile, to find it, and having once found it, stuck as close to it as we could. After a March of 2 Miles, we got upon Cane Creek, where we saw the same Havock amongst the Old Canes that we had observ'd in other Places, & a whole Forest of Young Ones Springing up in their Stead. We pursued our Journey over Hills and Dales till we arriv'd at the Second Ford of the Dan, which we pass'd with no other Damage than Sopping a little of our Bread, and Shipping some Water at the Tops of our Boots. The late Rains having been a little immoderate, had rais'd the Water and made a cur-

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rant in the River. We drove on 4 Miles farther to a plentiful Run of very clear Water, and quarter'd on a rising Ground a Bow-Shot from it. We had no sooner pitch'd the Tents, but one of our Woodsmen alarm'd us with the News that he had follow'd the Track of a great Body of Indians to the place where they had lately encamp'd. That there he had found no less than Ten Huts, the Poles whereof had Green Leaves still fresh upon them. That each of these Huts had Shelter'd at least Ten Indians, who, by some infallible Marks, must have been Northern Indians. That they must needs have taken their departure from thence no longer ago than the day before, having erected those Huts to protect themselves from the late Heavy Rains. These Tidings I could perceive were a little Shocking to some of the Company, and particularly the little Major, whose Tongue had never lain still, was taken Speechless for 16 Hours. I put as good a Countenance upon the Matter as I cou'd, assuring my Fellow Travellers, that the Northern Indians were at Peace with us, and altho one or two of them may now and then commit a Robbery or a Murder, (as other Rogues do,) yet nationally and avowedly they would not venture to hurt us. And in Case they were Cataubas, the Danger would be as little from them, because they are too fond of our Trade to loose it for the pleasure of Shedding a little English Blood. But Supposing the worst, that they might break thro all the Rules of Self-Interest, and attack us, yet we ought to stand bravely on our defence, and sell our lives as dear as we could. That we should have no more fear on this Occasion, than just to make us more watchful and better provided to receive the Enemy, if they had the Spirit to venture upon us. This Reasoning of mine, tho it could not remove the Panick, yet it abated something of the Palpitation, and made us double our Guard. However, I found it took off the Edge of most of our Appetites, for every thing but the Rum Bottle, which was

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more in favour than ever, because of its Cordial Quality. I Hurt my other Knee this afternoon, but not enough to spoil either my dancing or my Stomach.

26 We liked the place so little that we were glad to leave it this Morning as soon as we could. For that reason we were all on Horseback before Nine, and after riding 4 Miles arriv'd at the Mouth of Sable Creek. On the Eastern Bank of that Creek, 6 Paces from the Mouth, and just at the Brink of the River Dan, stands a Sugar Tree, which is the beginning of my fine Tract of land in Carolina, call'd the Land of Eden. I caus'd the Initial Letters of my name to be cut on a large Poplar and Beech near my Corner, for the more easy finding it another time. We then made a beginning of my Survey, directing our Course due South from the Sugar Tree above-mention'd. In a little way we perceived the Creek fork't, and the Western Branch was wide enough to merit the name of a River. That to the East was much less, which we intersected with this Course. We ran Southerly a Mile, and found the Land good all the way, only towards the End of it we saw the Trees destroy'd in such a Manner that there were hardly any left to mark my Bounds. Having finish't this Course, we encamp't in a charming Peninsula, form'd by the Western Branch of the Creek. It contain'd about 40 Acres of very Rich Land, gradually descending to the Creek, and is a delightful Situation for the Mannor House. My Servant had fed so intemperately upon Bear, that it gave him a Scouring, and that was followed by the Piles, which made riding worse to him than Purgatory. But anointing with the Fat of the same Bear, he soon grew easy again.

27 We were stirring early from this enchanting place, and ran 8 Miles of my back Line, which tended South $84\frac{1}{2}$ Westerly. We found the Land uneven, but tolerably good, tho very thin of Trees, and those that were standing fit for little but fewel

and Fence-Rails. Some Conflagration had effectually open'd the Country, and made room for the Air to circulate. We crost both the Branches of Low Land Creek, and Sundry other Rills of fine Water. From every Eminence we discover'd the Mountains to the N. West of us, tho' they seem'd to be a long way off. Here the Air felt very refreshing and agreeable to the Lungs, having no Swamps or Marshes to taint it. Nor was this the only good Effect it had, but it likewise made us very hungry, so that we were forc'd to halt and pacify our Appetites with a frugal Repast out of our Pockets, which we wash'd down with Water from a Purling Stream just by. My knees pain'd me very much, tho' I broke not the Laws of Travelling by uttering the least Complaint. Measuring and marking spent so much of our Time, that we could advance no further than 8 Miles, and the Chain Carryer's thought that a great way. In the Evening we took up our Quarters in the Low-Grounds of the River, which our Scouts inform'd us was but 200 Yards ahead of us. This was no Small surprize, because we had flatter'd ourselves that this Back Line would not have Intersected the Dan at all; but we found Ourselves mistaken, and plainly perceived that it ran more Southerly than we imagined, and in all likelihood pierces the Mountains where they form an Amphitheater. The Venison here was lean; and the misfortune was we met no Bear in so open a Country, to grease the way and make it Slip down. In the Night our Centinel alarm'd us with an Idle Suspicion that he heard the Indian Whistle, (which amongst them is a Signal for attacking their Enemies.) This made every one Stand manfully to his Arms in a Moment, and I found no Body more undismayed in this Surprize than Mr. Banister; But after we had put ourselves in Battle Array, we discover'd this Whistle to be nothing but the Nocturnal Note of a little harmless Bird, that inhabits those Woods. We were glad to find the Mistake, and commending the Centinel for his

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great Vigilance, compos'd our Noble Spirits again to rest till the Morning. However, some of the Company dream'd of nothing but Scalping all the rest of the Night.

28 We snapt up our Breakfast as fast as we cou'd, that we might have the more leifure to pick our way over a very bad Ford across the River. Tho', bad as it was, we all got safe on the other side. We were no sooner Landed, but we found ourselves like to encounter a very rough and almost impassable Thicket. However, we Scuffled thro' it without any dismay or Complaint. This was a Copse of young Saplings, consisting of Oak, Hickory and Sassafras, which are the growth of a fertile Soil. We gain'd no more than 2 Miles in 3 Hours in this perplext Place, and after that had the Pleasure to issue out into opener Woods. The Land was generally good, tho' pretty bare of Timber, and particularly we travers'd a rich Level of at least 2 Miles. Our whole day's Journey amounted not quite to 5 Miles, by reason we had been so hamper'd at our first setting out. We were glad to take up our Quarters early in a piece of fine low-Grounds, lying about a Mile N. of the River. Thus we perceiv'd the River edged away gently towards the South, and never likely to come in the way of our Course again. Nevertheless, the last time we saw it, it kept much the same Breadth and depth that it had where it divided its Waters from the Staunton, and in all likelihood holds its own quite as high as the Mountains.

29 In Measuring a Mile and a half farther we reacht the lower Ford of the Irvin, which branches from the Dan about 2 Miles to the S. S. E. of this place. This River was very near Three Score Yards over, and in many places pretty deep. From thence, in little more than a Mile, we came to the End of this Course, being in length 15 Miles and 88 Poles. And so far the Land held reasonably good; but when we came to run our Northern Course of 3 Miles, to the place where the Country line intersects the same Irvin higher up, we pass'd over nothing

but Stony Hills, and barren Grounds, cloth'd with little Timber, and refresh'd with less Water. All my hopes were in the Riches that might lye under Ground, there being many goodly Tokens of Mines. The Stones which paved the River, both by their Weight & Colour, promis'd abundance of Metal; but whether it be Silver, Lead or Copper, is beyond our Skill to discern. We also discover'd many shews of Marble, of a white ground, with Streaks of red and purple. So that tis possible the Treasure in the Bowels of the Earth may make ample amends for the Poverty of its Surface. We encamp't on the Bank of this River, a little below the Dividing Line, and near the lower end of an Island half a Mile long, which, for the Metallick Appearances, we dignify'd with the Name of Potosi. In our way to this place we treed a Bear, of so mighty a Bulk, that when we fetcht her down she almost made an Earthquake. But neither the Shot nor the fall disabled her so much, but she had like to have hugg'd one of our Dogs to Death in the Violence of her Embrace. We exercis'd the Discipline of the Woods, by tossing a very careless Servant in a Blanket, for losing one of our Axes.

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This being Sunday, we were glad to rest from our Labours; 30 and, to help restore Our Vigour, several of us plung'd into the River, notwithstanding it was a frosty morning. One of our Indians went in along with us, and taught us their way of Swimming. They strike not out both hands together, but alternately one after another, whereby they are able to swim both farther and faster than we do. Near the Camp grew Several large Chestnut trees very full of Chestnuts. Our men were too lazy to climb the Trees for the sake of the Fruit, but, like the Indians, chose rather to cut them down, regardless of those that were to come after. Nor did they esteem such kind of Work any breach of the Sabbath, so long as it helpt to fill their Bellies. One of the Indians shot a Bear, which he lugg'd about half a

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Mile for the good of the Company. These Gentiles have no distinction of Days, but make every day a Sabbath, except when they go out to war or a hunting, and then they will undergo incredible Fatigues. Of other work the Men do none, thinking it below the dignity of their Sex, but make the poor Women do all the Drudgery. They have a blind Tradition amongst them, that work was first laid upon Mankind by the fault of a Female, and therefore tis but just that Sex should do the greatest part of it. This they plead in their Excuse; but the true reason is, that the Weakest must always go to the Wall, and Superiority has from the beginning ungenerously impos'd Slavery on those who are not able to resist it.

I I plung'd once more into the River Irvin this Morning, for a Small Cold I had caught, and was intirely cured by it. We ran the 3 Mile Course from a White Oak standing on my Corner upon the Western Bank of the River, and intersected the place, where we ended the Back line exactly, and fixt that corner at a Hicory. We steer'd South from thence about a Mile, and then came upon the Dan, which thereabouts makes but narrow Low-Grounds. We forded it about a Mile and a half to the Westward of the place where the Irvin runs into it. When we were over, we determin'd to ride down the River on that Side, and for 3 Miles found the High-Land come close down to it, pretty barren and uneven. But then on a Sudden the Scene chang'd, and we were surpriz'd with an Opening of large Extent, where the Sauro Indians once liv'd, who had been a considerable Nation. But the frequent Inroads of the Senecas annoy'd them incessantly, and oblig'd them to remove from this fine Situation about 30 Years ago. They then retired more Southerly, as far as Pee Dee River, and incorporated with the Kewawees, where a Remnant of them is still surviveing. It must have been a great Misfortune to them to be oblig'd to abandon so beautiful a dwelling, where the Air is wholesome,

and the Soil equal in Fertility to any in the World. The River is about 80 Yards wide, always confin'd within its lofty Banks, and rolling down its Waters, as sweet as Milk, and as clear as Crystal. There runs a charming Level, of more than a Mile Square, that will bring forth like the Lands of Egypt, without being overflow'd once a Year. There is scarce a Shrub in View to intercept your Prospect, but Grass as high as a Man on Horseback. Towards the Woods there is a gentle Ascent, till your Sight is intercepted by an Eminence, that overlooks the whole Landskape. This sweet Place is bounded to the East by a fine Stream, call'd Sauro Creek, which running out of the Dan, and tending Westerly, makes the whole a Peninsula. I cou'd not quit this Pleasant Situation without Regret, but often faced about to take a Parting look at it as far as I could see, and so indeed did all the rest of the Company. But at last we left it quite out of Sight, and continued our Course down the River, till where it intersects my Back line, which was about 5 Miles below Sauro Town. We took up our Quarters at the same Camp where we had a little before been alarm'd with the Suppos'd Indian Whistle, which we could hardly get out of our heads. However, it did not Spoil our rest; but we dreamt all Night's of the delights of Tempe and the Elyfian Fields.

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We awak'd early from these innocent Dreams, and took Our way along my Back line till we came to the Corner of it. From thence we Slanted to the Country Line, and kept down as far as the next fording place of the River, making in the whole 18 Miles. We breath'd all the way in pure Air, which seem'd Friendly to the Lungs, and circulated the Blood and Spirits very briskly. Happy will be the People destin'd for so wholesome a Situation, where they may live to fulness of days, and which is much better Still, with much Content and Gaiety of Heart. On every rising Ground we faced about to take our leave of the Mountains, which still shew'd their Towering

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Heads. The Ground was uneven, rising into Hills, and sinking into Valleys great part of the way, but the Soil was good, abounding in moist places with a greasy black Mould. We took up our Quarters on the Western Bank of the River, where we had forded it at our coming up. One of our Men, Joseph Colson by Name, a timorous, lazy Fellow, had squandered away his Bread, and grew very uneasy when his own ravening had reduced him to Short Allowance. He was one of those Drones who love to do little and eat much, and are never in humour unless their Bellies are full. According to this wrong turn of Constitution, when he found he could no longer revel in Plenty, he began to break the Rules by complaining and threatening to desert. This had like to have brought him to the Blanket, but his submission repriev'd him. Tho' Bread grew a little Scanty with us, we had Venison in abundance, which a true Woodfman can eat contentedly without any Bread at all. But Bear's flesh needs something of the Farinaceous, to make it pass easily off the Stomach. In the Night we heard a Dog bark at some distance, as we thought, when we saw all our own Dogs lying about the Fire. This was another Alarm; but we soon discover'd it to be a Wolf, which will sometimes Bark very like a Dog, but something Shriller.

- 3 The fine Season continuing, we made the most of it by leaving our Quarters as soon as possible. We began to measure and mark the Bounds of Maj'r Mayo's Land on the South of the Country Line. In order to do this we marcht round the Bent of the River, but he being oblig'd to make a traverse, we cou'd reach no farther than 4 Miles. In the Distance of about a Mile from where we lay, we cross'd Cliff Creek, which confin'd its Stream within such high Banks that it was difficult to find a Passage over. We kept close to the River, and 2 Miles farther came to Hix's Creek, where abundance of Canes lay dry and prostrate on the Ground, having Suffer'd in the late

Septennial Slaughter of that Vegetable. A Mile after that we forded another Stream, which we called Hatcher's Creek, from two Indian Traders of that Name, who us'd formerly to carry Goods to the Sauro Indians. Near the Banks of this Creek I found a Large Beech Tree, with the following Inscription cut upon the Bark of it, "J. H., H. H., B. B., lay here the 24th of May, 1673." It was not difficult to fill up these Initials with the following Names, Joseph Hatcher, Henry Hatcher and Benjamin Bullington, 3 Indian Traders, had lodged near that Place 60 Years before, in their way to the Sauro Town. But the Strangest part of the Story was this, that these letters, cut in the Bark, sho'd remain perfectly legible so long. Nay, if no Accident befalls the Tree, which appears to be still in a flourishing Condition, I doubt not but this piece of Antiquity may be read many years hence. We may also learn from it, that the Beech is a very long-liv'd Tree, of which there are many exceedingly large in these Woods. The Major took in a pretty deal of rich low-Ground into his Survey, but unhappily left a a greater Quantity out, which proves the Weakness of making Entrys by gueses. We found the Dan fordable hereabouts in most places. One of the Indians shot a Wild Goose, that was very lousy, which nevertheless was good meat, and prov'd those Contemptible Tasters to be no bad Tasters. However, for those Stomachs that were so unhappy as to be Squeamish, there was plenty of fat Bear, we having kill'd two in this day's March.

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I caus'd the Men to use double Diligence to assist Maj'r Mayo 4 in fixing the Bounds of his Land, because he had taken a great deal of pains about Mine. We therefore mounted our Horses as soon as we had swallow'd our Breakfast. Till that is duly perform'd a Woodman makes a Conscience of exposing himself to any Fatigue. We proceeded then in his Survey, and made an End before Night, tho' most of the Company were of Opin-

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 Oct. it before below the Character the Discoverers had given him of it.

We fix'd his Eastern Corner on Cocquade Creek, and then continued our March, over the Hills and far away along the Country Line 2 Miles farther. Nor had we stopt there, unless a likelihood of Rain had oblig'd us to encamp on an Eminence where we were in no danger of being overflow'd. Peter Jones had a smart fit of an Ague, which Shook him severely, tho' he bore it like a Man; but the small Major had a small Fever, and bore it like a Child. He groan'd as if he had been in Labour, and thought verily it wou'd be his Fate to die like a Mutinous Israelite in the Wilderness, and be bury'd under a heap of Stones. The Rain was so kind as to give us Leisure to secure our Selves against it, but came however time enough to interrupt our Cookery, so that we sup'd as temperately as so many Philosophers, and kept ourselves Snug within our Tents. The worst part of the Story was, that the Centinels could hardly keep our Fires from being extinguish'd by the heaviness of the Shower.

- 5 Our Invalids found themselves in travelling Condition this Morning, and began to conceive hopes of returning home and dying in their own Beds. We pursued our Journey thro' uneven and perplex'd Woods, and in the thickest of them had the Fortune to knock down a Young Buffalo, 2 Years old. Providence threw this vast Animal in our way very Seasonably, just as our Provisions began to fail us. And it was the more welcome too, because it was change of dyet, which of all Varietys, next to that of Bed-fellows, is the most agreeable. We had liv'd upon Venison and Bear til our Stomachs loath'd them almost as much as the Hebrews of Old did their Quails. Our Butchers were so unhandy at their Business that we grew very lank before we cou'd get our Dinner. But when it came, we found it equal in goodness to the best Beef. They made it the longer because they kept Sucking the Water out of the Guts, in imitation of the

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Catauba Indians, upon the belief that it is a great Cordial, and will even make them drunk, or at least very Gay. We encamp't upon Hico River, pretty high up, and had much ado to get our house in order, before a heavy Shower descended upon us. I was in pain lest our sick men might suffer by the Rain, but might have spar'd myself the Concern, because it had the Effect of a Cold bath upon them, and drove away their distemper, or rather chang'd it into a Canine Appetite, that devour'd all before it. It rain'd Smartly all Night long, which made our Situation on the Low-Ground more fit for Otters than Men.

We had abundance of drying Work this Morning after the 6 Clouds broke away and shew'd the Sun to the happy Earth. It was impossible for us to strike the Tents till the afternoon, and then we took our departure, and made an easy march of 4 Miles to another Branch of Hico River, which we call'd Jesuit's Creek, because it misled us. We lugg'd as many of the dainty Pieces of the Buffalo along with us as our poor Horses cou'd carry, envying the Wolves the pleasure of such Luxurious dyet. Our Quarters were taken upon a delightful Eminence, that Scornfully overlookt the Creek, and afforded us a dry habitation. We made Our Supper on the Tongue and Udder of the Buffalo, which were so good, that a Cardinal Legat might have made a comfortable Meal upon them during the Carnaval. Nor was this all, but we had still a rarer Morfel, the Bunch rising up between the Shoulders of this Animal, which is very tender and very fat. The Primeings of a Young Doe, which one of the Men brought to the Camp, were slighted amidst these Daintys, nor wou'd even our Servants be fobb'd off with Cates so common. The Low-Grounds of this creek are wide in many places, and Rich, but seem to ly within reach of every Inundation; and this is commonly the Case with most low-Grounds, that ly either on the Rivers or on the Creeks that run into them. So great an Inconvenience lessens their Value very

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much, and makes High-Land, that is just tolerable, of greater Advantage to the Owner. There he will be more likely to reap the Fruits of his Industry every year, and not run the risque, after all his Toil, to see the Sweat of his Brow carry'd down the Stream, and perhaps many of his Cattle drown'd into the Bargain. Perhaps in times to come People may Bank their Low-Grounds as they do in Europe, to confine the Water within its natural Bounds to prevent these Inconveniences.

- 7 The Scarcity of Bread, join'd to the Impatience of some of our Company, laid us under a kind of Necessity to hasten our Return home. For that reason we thought we might be excused for making a Sabbath day's Journey of about 5 Miles, as far as our Old Camp upon Sugar Tree Creek. On our way we forded Buffalo Creek, which also emptys its Waters into Hico River. The Woods we rode thro' were open, and the Soil very promising, great part thereof being Low-Grounds, full of tall and large Trees. A She Bear had the ill luck to cross our way, which was large enough to afford us several Luxurious Meals. I paid for Violateing the Sabbath by losing a pair of Gold Buttons. I pitcht my Tent on the very spot I had done when we ran the Dividing Line between Virginia and Carolina. The Beech whose bark recorded the names of the Carolina Commissioners was still Standing, and we did them the Justice to add to their Names a Sketch of their Characters. We got our House in order time enough to walk about and make some slight observations. There were Sugar Trees innumerable growing in the Low-Grounds of this Creek, from which it receiv'd its name. They were many of them as tall as large Hicories, with Trunks from 15 to 20 Inches through. The Woodpeckers, for the pleasure of the sweet Juice which these Trees yield, pierce the Bark in many places, and do great damage, tho' the Trees live a great while under all these Wounds. There grows an infinite quantity of Maidenhair,

which seems to delight most in Rich grounds. The Sorrel Tree is frequent there, whose leaves, brew'd in Beer, are good in Dropsies, Green-Sickness, and Cachexys. We also saw in this Place abundance of papa Trees, the Wood whereof the Indians make very dry on purpose to rub Fire out of it. Their Method of doing it is this: They hold one of these dry Sticks in each hand, and by rubbing them hard and quick together, rarify the Air in such a Manner as to fetch Fire in ten Minutes. Whenever they offer any Sacrifice to their God, they look upon it as a Profanation to make use of Fire already kindled, but produce fresh Virgin Fire for that purpose, by rubbing 2 of these Sticks together that never had been us'd before on any Occasion.

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After fortifying ourself with a Bear Breakfast, Majr Mayo took what help he thought necessary, and began to Survey the Land, with which the Commissioners of Carolina had presented him upon this Creek. After running the bounds, the Major was a little disappointed in the Goodness of the Land, but as it had cost him nothing it cou'd be no bad pennyworth, as his upper Tract really was. While that business was carrying on, I took my old Friend and Fellow Traveller, Tom Wilson, and went to view the Land I had enter'd for upon this Creek, on the North of the Country Line. We rode down the Stream about 6 Miles, crossing it sundry times, and found very wide Low Grounds on both sides of it, only we observed, wherever the Low-Grounds were Broad on one side the Creek, they were narrow on the Other. The High Lands we were oblig'd to pass over were very good, & in some places descended so gradually to the edge of the Low-grounds, that they form'd very agreeable Prospects and pleasant Situations for building. About 4 Miles from the Line, Sugar Tree Creek empty'd itself into the Hico, which with that Addition swell'd into a fine River. In this Space we saw the most, and most promising good Land

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we had met with in all our Travels. In our way we Shot a Doe, but she not falling immediately, we had lost our Game had not the Ravens, by their Croaking, conducted us to the Thicket where she fell. We plunged the Carcass of the Deer into the Water, to secure it from these Ominous Birds till we return'd, but an Hour afterwards were surpriz'd with the Sight of a wolf which had been fishing for it, and devour'd one Side. We knockt down an antient She Bear that had no flesh upon her Bones, so we left it to the Free-Booters of the Forrest. In coming back to the Camp we discover'd a Solitary Bull Buffalo, which boldly stood his Ground, contrary to the Custom of that Shy Animal, we spar'd his Life, from a principle of never Slaughtering an Innocent Creature to no purpose. However, we made ourselves some Diversion, by trying if he wou'd face our Dogs. He was so far from retreating at their Approach, that he ran at them with great fierceness, cocking up his ridiculous little Tail, and grunting like a Hog. The Dogs in the mean time only plaid about him, not venturing within reach of his Horns, and by their nimbleness came off with a whole Skin. All these Adventures we related at our return to the Camp, and what was more to the purpose, we carry'd to them the side of Venison which the Wolf had vouchsaf't to leave us. After we had compos'd ourselves to rest, Our Horses ran up to Our Camp as fast as their Hobbles would let them. This was to some of us a certain Argument that Indians were near, whose scent the Horses can no more endure than they can their Figures; tho' it was more likely they had been scar'd by a Panther or some other Wild Beast, the glaring of whose Eyes are very terrifying to them in a dark Night.

- 9 Majr Mayo's Survey being no more than half done, we were oblig'd to amuse Ourselves another day in this Place. And that the time might not be quite lost, we put our Garments and Baggage into good repair. I for my part never spent a day so

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well during the whole Voyage. I had an impertinent Tooth in my upper Jaw, that had been loose for some time, and made me chew with great Caution. Particularly I cou'd not grind a Biscuit but with much deliberation and presence of mind. Tooth-Drawers we had none amongst us, nor any of the Instruments they make use of. However, Invention supply'd this want very happily, and I contriv'd to get rid of this troublesome Companion by cutting a Caper. I caus'd a Twine to be fasten'd round the Root of my Tooth, about a Fathom in Length, and then ty'd the other End to the Snag of a Log that lay upon the Ground, in such a Manner that I cou'd just stand upright. Having adjusted my String in this manner, I bent my Knees enough to enable me to spring vigorously off the Ground, as perpendicularly as I cou'd. The force of the Leap drew out the Tooth with so much ease that I felt nothing of it, nor should have believ'd it was come away, unless I had seen it dangling at the End of the String. An Under tooth may be fetcht out by standing off the Ground and fastning your String at due distance above you. And having so fixt your Gear, jump off your Standing, and the weight of your Body, added to the force of the Spring, will poize out your Tooth with less pain than any Operator upon Earth cou'd draw it. This new way of Tooth-drawing, being so silently and deliberately perform'd, both surprized and delighted all that were present, who cou'd not guess what I was going about. I immediately found the benefit of getting rid of this troublesome Companion, by eating my Supper with more comfort than I had done during the whole Expedition.

In the Morning we made an End of our Bread, and all the rest of Our Provision, so that now we began to travel pretty light. All the Company were Witneses how good the Land was upon Sugar Tree Creek, because we rode down it 4 Miles, till it fell into Hico River. Then we directed our Course over

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the High Land, thinking to Shorten our way to Tom Wilfon's Quarter. Nevertheless, it was our Fortune to fall upon the Hico again, and then kept within sight of it several Miles together, till we came near the Mouth. Its Banks were high and full of precipices on the East Side, but it afforded some Low-Grounds on the West. Within 2 Miles of the Mouth are good shews of Copper Mines, as Harry Morris told me, but we saw nothing of them. It runs into the Dan just below a large Fall, but the chain of Rocks dont reach quite cross the River, to intercept the Navigation. About a Mile below lives Aaron Pinfton, at a Quarter belonging to Thomas Wilfon, upon Tewahominy Creek. This man is the highest Inhabitant on the South side of the Dan, and yet reacons himself perfectly safe from danger. And if the Bears, Wolves, and Panthers were as harmless as the Indians, his Stock might be so too. Tom Wilfon offer'd to knock down a Steer for us, but I would by no means accept of his Generosity. However, we were glad of a few of his Peas and Potatoes, and some Rashers of his Bacon, upon which we made good Chear. This Plantation lyes about a Mile from the Mouth of Tewahominy, and about the same distance from the Mouth of Hico River, and contains a good piece of Land. The Edifice was only a Log House, affording a very free passage for the Air thro' every part of it, nor was the cleanliness of it any temptation to lye out of our Tents, so we encampt once more, for the last time, in the open Field.

- II I tippt our Landlady with what I imagined a full Reward for the Trouble we had given her, and then mounted our Horses, which prickt up their Ears after the 2 Meals they had eaten of Corn. In the Distance of about a Mile we reacht the Dan, which we forded with some difficulty into the Fork. The Water was pretty high in the River, and the Currant something Rapid, nevertheless all the Company got over safe, with only a

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little Water in their boots. After traversing the Fork, which was there at least 2 good Miles across, We forded the Stanton into a little Island, & then the narrow Branch of the same to the main Land. We took Majr Mumford's Tenant in Our way, where we moisten'd Our Throats with a little Milk, and then proceeded in good Order to Blue Stone Castle. My Landlady received us with a grim Sort of a welcome, which I did not expect, since I brought her Husband back in good Health, tho' perhaps that might be the Reason. 'Tis sure something or other did teize her, and she was a female of too strong Passions to know how to dissemble. However, she was so Civil as to get us a good Dinner, which I was the better pleas'd with because Colo. Cock and Mr. Mumford came time enough to partake of it. The Colo. had been Surveying Land in these parts, and particularly that on which Mr. Stith's Copper Mines, as likewise a Tract on which Cornelius Cargill has fine Appearances. He had but a poor Opinion of Mr. Stith's Mine, foretelling it would be all labour in vain, but thought something better of Mr. Cargill's. After Dinner these Gentlemen took their Leaves, and at the same time I discharg'd 2 of my fellow travellers, Thomas Wilson and Joseph Colson, after having made their Hearts merry, and giving each of them a piece of Gold to rub their Eyes with. We now return'd to that Evil Custom of lying in a house, and an evil one it is, when ten or a dozen People are forc'd to pig together in a Room, as we did, and were troubled with the Squalling of peevish, dirty Children into the Bargain.

We eat our Fill of Potatoes and Milk, which seems delicious 12
• Fare to those who have made a Campaign in the Woods. I then took my first Minister, Harry Morris, up the Hill, & markt out the place where Blue stone Castle was to Stand, and overlook the Adjacent Country. After that I put my Friend in mind of many things he had done amiss, which he promis'd

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faithfully to reform. I was so much an Infidel to his fair Speeches, (having been many times deceiv'd by them,) that I was forc'd to threaten him with my highest displeasure, unless he mended his Conduct very much. I also let him know, that he was not only to Correct his own Errors, but likewise those of his Wife, since the power certainly belong'd to him, in Vertue of his Conjugal Authority. He Scratcht his head at this last Admonition, from whence I inferred that the Gray Mare was the better Horse. We gave our heavy Baggage 2 hours' Start, and about noon follow'd them, and in 12 Miles reacht John Butcher's, calling by the way for Master Mumford, in order to take him along with us. Mr. Butcher receiv'd us kindly, and we had a true Roanoke Entertainment of Pork upon Pork, and Pork again upon that. He told us he had been one of the first Seated in that remote part of the Country, and in the beginning had been forc't, like the great Nebuchadnezzar, to live a considerable time upon Grass. This honest man sat a mighty Value on the Mine he fancyed he had in his Pasture, and shew'd Us some of the Oar, which he was made to believe was a Gray Copper, and wou'd certainly make his Fortune. But there is a bad Distemper rages in those parts, that grows very Epidemical. The People are all Mine mad, and neglecting to make Corn, starve their Familys in hopes to live in great Plenty hereafter. Mr. Stith was the first that was seiz'd with the Frenzy, and has spread the Contagion far and near. As you ride along the Woods, you see all the large Stones knockt to pieces, nor can a poor Marcasite rest quietly in its Bed for these Curious Inquirers. Our conversation ran altogether upon this darling Subject, til the hour came for our lying in bulk together.

13 After breaking our fast with a Sea of Milk and potatoes, we took our leave, and I cross't my Landlady's hand with a piece of Money. She refus'd the Offer at first, but, like a true Woman,

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accepted of it when it was put Home to Her. She told me the utmost she was able to do for me was a trifle in Comparifon of some favour I had formerly done Her; but what that favour was, neither I cou'd recollect, nor did she think proper to explain. Tho' it threaten'd Rain, we proceeded on our Journey, and jogg'd on in the New Road for 20 Miles, that is as far as it was clear'd at that time, and found it wou'd soon come to be a very good one after it was well grubb'd. About 9 Miles from John Butcher's, we croff't Allen's Creek, 4 Miles above Mr. Stith's Mine. Near the Mouth of this Creek is a good Body of rich Land, whereof Occaneechy Neck is a part. It was enter'd for many Years ago by Colo. Harrifon and Colo. Allen, but to this day is held without Patent or Improvement. And they fay Mr. Bolling dos the same, with a Thoufand Acres lying below John Butcher's. After beating the new Road for 20 Miles, we ftruck off towards Meherrin, which we reacht in 8 Miles farther, & then came to the Plantation of Joshua Nicholson, where Daniel Taylor lives for Halves. Therè was a poor dirty house, with hardly any thing in it but Children, that wallow'd about like fo many Pigs. It is a common Cafe in this part of the Country, that People live worft upon good Land; and the more they are befriended by the Soil and the clymate, the lefs they will do for themselves. This man was an Instance of it, for tho' his Plantation would make Plentifful returns for a little Induftry, yet he wanting that, wanted every thing. The Woman did all that was done in the Family, and the few Garments they had to cover their dirty Hides were owing to her Induftry. We cou'd have no Supplys from fuch Neighbours as thefe, but depended on our own KnapSacks, in which we had some Remnants of cold Fowls that we brought from Bluestone Castle. When my House was in Order, the whole Family came and admir'd it, as much as if it had been the Grand Vizier's Tent in the Turkish Army.

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The sabbath was now come round again, and altho' our Horfes wou'd have been glad to take the benefit of it, yet we determin'd to make a Sunday's Journey to Brunswick Church, which lay about 8 Miles off. Tho' our Landlord cou'd do little for us, nevertheless, we did him all the good we were able, by bleeding his sick Negro, and giving him a Dose of Indian Physick. We got to Church in decent time, and Mr. Betty, the Parson of the Parish, entertain'd us with a good honest Sermon, but whether he bought it, or borrow'd it, would have been uncivil in us to inquire. Be that as it will, he is a decent Man, with a double Chin that fits gracefully over his Band, and his Parish, especially the Female part of it, like him well. We were not crowded at Church, tho' it was a new thing in that remote part of the Country. What Women happen'd to be there, were very gim and tydy in the work of their own hands, which made them look tempting in the Eyes of us Foresters. When Church was done, we refresht our Teacher with a Glafs of Wine, and then receiving his Blessing, took Horfe and directed our Course to Maj'r Embry's. The Distance thither was reputed 15 Miles, but appear'd less by the Company of a Nymph of those Woods, whom Innocence, and wholesome Flesh and Blood made very alluring. In our way we crost Sturgeon Creek and Queocky Creek, but at our Journey's end were so unlucky as not to find either Master or Mistress at home. However, after 2 hours of hungry Expectation, the good Woman luckily found her way home, and provided very hospitably for us. As for the Major, he had profited so much by my Prescription, as to make a Journey to Williamsburgh, which required pretty good health, the distance being little Short of 100 Miles.

15 After our Bounteous Landlady had cherisht us with Roast Beef and Chicken-Pye, we thankfully took Leave. At the same time we separated from our good Friend and Fellow Traveller, Maj'r Mayo, who steer'd directly home. He is certainly a very

useful, as well as an agreeable Companion in the Woods, being ever cheerful & good-humor'd, under all the little Crosses, disasters, and disappointments of that rambling Life. As many of us as remain'd jogg'd on together to Saponi Chapel, where I thank't Major Mumford and Peter Jones for the trouble he had taken in this long Journey. That Ceremony being duly perform'd, I filed off with my honest Friend, Mr. Banister, to his Habitation on Hatcher's Run, which lay about 14 Miles from the Chapel above-mention'd. His good-humour'd little Wife was glad to see her Runaway Spouse return'd in Safety, and treated us kindly. It was no small pleasure to me, that my worthy Friend found his Family in good Health, and his Affairs in good Order. He came into this Ramble so frankly, that I shou'd have been sorry if he had been a Sufferer by it. In the Gaiety of our hearts we drank our bottle a little too freely, which had an unusual Effect on Persons so long accusom'd to Simple Element. We were both of us rais'd out of our Beds in the same Manner, and near the same time, which was a fair proof that people who breath the same Air, and are engaged in the same Way of living, will be very apt to fall into the same Indispositions. And this may explain why Distempers sometimes go round a Family, without any reason to believe they are infectious, according to the Superstition of the Vulgar.

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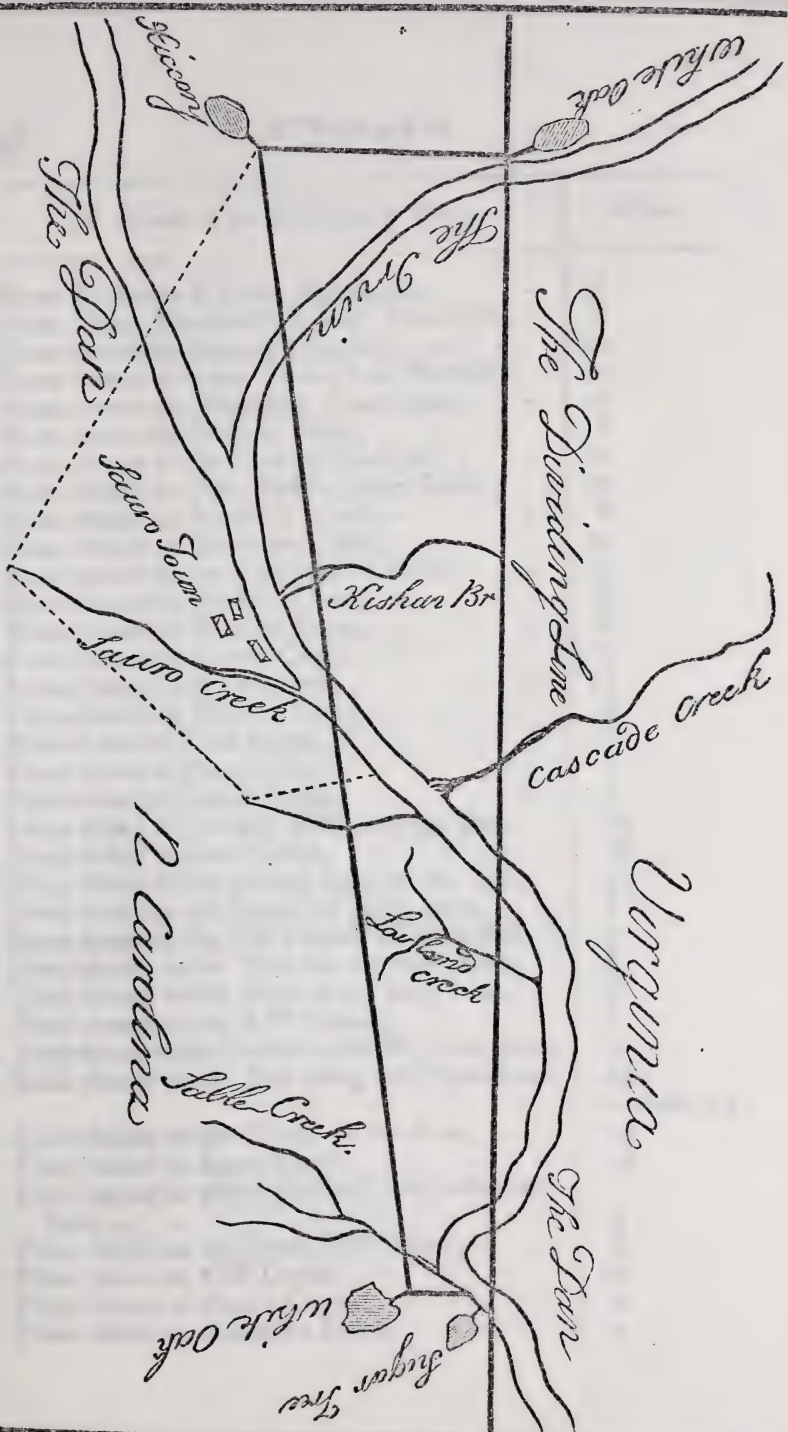
After pouring down a Basin of Chocolate, I wisht Peace to 16 that House, and departed. As long as Mr. Banister had been absent from his Family, He was yet so kind as to conduct me to Major Mumford's, & which was more, his wife very obligingly consented to it. The Major seem'd overjoy'd at his being return'd Safe and Sound from the perils of the Woods, tho' his Satisfaction had some Check from the Change his pretty Wife had suffer'd in her Complexion. The Vermilion of her Cheeks had given place a little to the Saffron, by means of a small Tincture of the Yellow Jaundice. I was sorry to see so fair a

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flower thus faded, and Recommended the best Remedy I cou'd think of. After a refreshment of about an hour, we went on to Colo. Bolling's, who was so gracious as to send us an Invitation. As much in haste as I was to return to my Family, I spent an hour or two at that place, but cou'd by no means be persuaded to stay Dinner, nor could even Madam de Graffenriedt's Smiles on one Side of her Face shake my Resolution. From thence we proceeded to Colo. Mumford's, who seem'd to have taken a new Lease, were any dependence to be upon looks, or any Indulgence allow'd to the Wishes of his Friends. An honefter Man, a fairer Trader, or a kinder Friend, this Country never produced: God send any of his Sons may have the Grace to take after him. We took a running Repast with this good Man, and then bidding Adieu both to him and Mr. Banister, I mounted once more, and obstinately pursued my Journey home, tho' the clouds threaten'd, and the Heavens lookt very lowring. I had not past the Court-house before it began to pour down like a Spout upon me. Nevertheless, I pusht forward with Vigour, and got dripping wet before I could reach Merchant's hope Point. My Boat was there luckily waiting for me, and wafted me safe over. And the Joy of meeting my Family in Health made me in a Moment forget all the Fatigues of the Journey, as much as if I had been Husquenawed. However, the good Providence that attended me, and my whole Company, will I hope stick fast in my Memory, and make me everlastingly thankful.

A List of our Company of all Sorts.

Myself,	Thomas Wilson,	Lawson,
Maj'r Mayo,	Joseph Colson,	3 Indians,
Maj'r Mumford,	Harry Morris,	3 negroes,
Mr. Banister,	Robert Bolling,	20 horses,
Mr. Jones,	Thomas Hooper,	4 dogs.



My Plot of 20,000 Acres in N^o Carolina.
 Surveyed in September 1733, by M^r. Mayo, being
 15 Miles long, 3 Broad at the W. End, & one at the Est

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Oct.*An Account of the Distances of Places.**Miles.*

From Westover to Colo. Mumford's, - - -	16
From Colo. Mumford's to maj'r Mumford's,	6
From thence to Sappony Chappel, - - -	20
From thence to major Embry's on Notoway,	10
From thence to Brunswick Court-house, -	15
From thence to Meherin River, - - -	8
From thence to the Ford on Roanoak, - -	12
From thence to Colo. Stith's Copper Mine, -	20
From thence to Butcher's Creek, - - -	6
From thence to Bluestone Castle, - - -	12
From thence to the Ford into the Fork, - -	7
From thence to Birche's Creek, - - -	5
From thence to Banister River, - - -	6
From thence to Morris Creek, - - -	3
From thence to the Medway, - - -	14
From thence to Maoftie Creek, - - -	2
From hence to Fork Creek, - - -	6
From hence to Peter's Creek, - - -	2
From hence to Jones' Creek, - - -	2
From hence to the first Ford over the Dan,	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
From hence to Cane Creek, - - -	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
From hence to the Second Ford of the Dan,	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
From hence to the Mouth of Sable creek, -	8
From hence to the S-E Corner of my Land,	1
From thence to the Dan on my Back Line,	8
From thence to the Irvin on my back Line, -	6
From thence to my S-W Corner, - - -	1
From thence to my Corner on the W. of the Irvin,	3
From thence to the Dan along my Upper-Line,	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
<hr/> Sum 212	
From thence to the Mouth of the Irvin, -	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
From thence to Sauro Creek, - - -	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
From thence to where my Back-line crosses the Dan, - - -	5
From thence to my South-East Corner, - -	8
From thence to Cliff Creek, - - -	10
From thence to Hixe's Creek, - - -	2
From thence to Hatcher's Creek, - - -	1

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<i>An Account of the Distances of Places.</i>	<i>Miles.</i>
From thence to Cocquade Creek, - - -	5
From thence to the upper Ford of Hico River,	7
From thence to Jesuit's Creek, - - -	4
From thence to where the Line cuts Sugar Tree Creek, - - - - -	5
From thence to the Mouth of Sugar Tree Creek,	4
From thence to the Mouth of Hico River, -	7
From thence to Wilfon's Quarter on Tewa-hominy Creek, - - - - -	1
From thence to the Dan, - - - - -	1
From thence across the Fork to the Stanton,	2
From thence to Blue Stone Castle, - - -	7
From thence to Sandy Creek, - - - - -	5
From thence to Mr. Mumford's Plantation,	2
From thence to Butcher's Creek, - - -	5
From thence to Allen's Creek, - - - - -	9
From thence to Joshua Nicholson's on Meherin,	18
From thence to Brunswick Court-house, -	8
From thence to Notoway Bridge, - - - -	14
From thence to Sappony Chappel, - - -	10
From thence to Mr. Banister's on Hatcher's Run, - - - - -	12
From thence to Colo. Bolling's Plantation, -	9
From thence to Colo. Mumford's Plantation,	5
From thence to Westover, - - - - -	16
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A PROGRESS TO THE MINES,

IN THE YEAR 1732.

FOR the Pleasure of the good Company of Mrs. Byrd, and her little Governour, my Son, I went about half way to the Falls in the Chariot. There we halted, not far from a pur-
ling Stream, and upon the Stump of a propagate Oak picket the Bones of a piece of Roast Beef. By the Spirit which that gave me, I was the better able to part with the dear Companions of my Travels, and to perform the rest of my Journey on Horseback by myself. I reacht Shaccoa's before 2 a'clock, and crost the River to the Mills. I had the Grief to find them both stand as still for the want of Water, as a dead Woman's Tongue, for want of Breath. It had rain'd so little for many Weeks above the Falls, that the Naides had hardly Water enough left to wash their Faces. However, as we ought to turn all our Misfortunes to the best Advantage, I directed Mr. Booker, my first Minister there, to make use of the lowness of the Water for blowing up the Rocks at the Mouth of the Canal. For that purpose I order'd Iron Drills to be made about 2 foot long, pointed with Steel, Chizzel fashion, in order to make holes, into which we put our Cartridges of Powder, containing each about 3 Ounces. There wanted Skill among my Engineers to chuse the best parts of the Stone for boring, that we might blow to the most advantage. They made all their Holes quite perpendicular, whereas they should have humour'd the Grain of the Stone

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for the more effectual Execution. I order'd the points of the Drills to be made Chizzel way, rather than the Diamond, that they might need to be Seldomer repair'd, tho' in Stone the Diamond points would make the most despatch. The Water now flow'd out of the River so slowly, that the Miller was oblig'd to pond it up in the Canal, by setting open the Flood-gates at the Mouth, and shutting those close at the Mill. By this contrivance, he was able at any time to grind two or three Bushels, either for his choice Customers, or for the use of my Plantations. Then I walkt to the place where they broke the Flax, which is wrought with much greater ease than the Hemp, and is much better for Spinning. From thence I paid a Visit to the Weaver, who needed a little of Minerva's Inspiration to make the most of a piece of fine Cloth. Then I lookt in upon my Caledonian Spinster, who was mended more in her looks than in her Humour. However, she promised much, tho' at the same time intended to perform little. She is too high-Spirited for Mr. Booker, who hates to have his sweet Temper ruffled, and will rather suffer matters to go a little wrong sometimes, than give his righteous Spirit any uneasiness. He is very honest, and would make an admirable Overseer where Servants will do as they are bid. But Eye-Servants, who want abundance of over-looking, are not so proper to be committed to his Care. I found myself out of order, and for that reason retir'd Early; yet with all this precaution had a gentle feaver in the Night, but towards morning Nature sat open all her Gates, and drove it out in a plentiful perspiration.

- 19 The worst of this feaver was, that it put me to the Necessity of taking another Ounce of Bark. I moisten'd every dose with a little Brandy, and fill'd the Glafs up with Water, which is the least Nauseous way of taking this Popish Medicine, and besides hinders it from Purging. After I had swallow'd a few Poacht Eggs, we rode down to the Mouth of the Canal, and from

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thence crost over to the broad Rock Island in a Canoe. Our errand was to view some Iron Ore, which we dug up in two places. That on the Surface seem'd very spongy and poor, which gave us no great Encouragement to search deeper, nor did the Quantity appear to be very great. However, for my greater Satisfaction, I order'd a hand to dig there for some time this Winter. We walkt from one End of the Island to the other, being about half a Mile in length, and found the Soil very good, and too high for any Flood, less than that of Deucalion, to do the least damage. There is a very wild prospect both upward and downward, the River being full of Rocks, over which the Stream tumbled with a Murmur, loud enough to drown the Notes of a Scolding Wife. This Island would make an agreeable Hermitage for any good Christian, who had a mind to retire from the World. Mr. Booker told me how Dr. Ireton had cured him once of a Looseness, which had been upon him two whole years. He order'd Him a Dose of Rhubarb, with directions to take 25 Drops of Laudanum so Soon as he had had 2 Physical Stools. Then he rested one day, and the next order'd him another Dose of the same Quantity of Laudanum to be taken, also after the 2d Stool. When this was done, he finisht the Cure by giving him 20 drops of Laudanum every night for five Nights running. The Doctor insistd upon the necessity of Stopping the Operation of the Rhubarb before it workt quite off, that what remained behind might strengthen the Bowels. I was punctual in Swallowing my Bark, and that I might use exercise upon it, rode to Prince's Folly, and my Lord's Islands, where I saw very fine Corn. In the mean time Vulcan came in Order to make the Drills for boring the Rocks, And gave me his Parole he wou'd, by the grace of God, attend the works till they were finisht, which he perform'd as lamely as if he had been to labour for a dead Horse, and not for ready Money. I made a North Carolina Dinner upon Fresh

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pork, tho' we had a plate of Green Peas after it, by way of Desert, for the Safety of our Noses. Then my first Minister and I had some serious Conversation about my Affairs, and I find nothing disturb'd his peaceable Spirit so much as the misbehaviour of the Spinster above-mention'd. I told him I cou'd not pity a Man, who had it always in his Power to do himself and her Justice, and wou'd not. If she were a Drunkard, a Scold, a Thief, or a Slanderer, we had wholesome Laws, that would make her Back Smart for the diversion of her other Members, and twas his Fault he had not put those wholesome Severitys in Execution. I retired in decent time to my own Apartment, and Slept very comfortably upon my Bark, forgetting all the little crosses arising from Overseers and negroes.

- 20 I continued the Bark, and then toft down my Poacht Eggs, with as much ease as some good Breeders Slip Children into the World. About Nine I left the Prudentest Orders I could think of with my Visier, & then crost the River to Shaccoe's. I made a running Visit to 3 of my Quarters, where, besides finding all the People well, I had the Pleasure to see better Crops than usual both of Corn and Tobacco. I parted there with my Intendant, and pursued my Journey to Mr. Randolph's, at Tuckahoe, without meeting with any Adventure by the way. Here I found Mrs. Fleming, who was packing up her Baggage with design to follow her Husband the next day, who was gone to a new Settlement in Goochland. Both he and She have been about Seaven Years perswading themselves to remove to that retired part of the Country, tho' they had the two strong Arguments of Health and Interest for so doing. The Widow smiled graciously upon me, and entertain'd me very handsomely. Here I learnt all the tragical Story of her Daughter's humble Marriage with her Uncle's Overseer. Besides the meanness of this mortal's Aspect, the Man has not one visible Qualification,

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except Impudence, to recommend him to a Female's Inclinations. But there is sometimes such a Charm in that Hibernian Endowment, that frail Woman cant withstand it, tho' it stand alone without any other Recommendation. Had she run away with a Gentleman or a pretty Fellow, there might have been some Excuse for her, tho' he were of inferior Fortune: but to stoop to a dirty Plebeian, without any kind of merit, is the lowest Prostitution. I found the Family justly enraged at it; and tho' I had more good Nature than to join in her Condemnation, yet I cou'd devise no Excuse for so senseless a Prank as this young Gentlewoman had play'd. Here good Drink was more Scarce than good Victuals, the Family being reduc'd to the last Bottle of Wine, which was therefore husbanded very carefully. But the Water was excellent. The Heir of the Family did not come home till late in the Evening. He is a pretty Young Man, but had the misfortune to become his own master too soon. This puts young Fellows upon wrong pursuits, before they have Sense to Judge rightly for themselves. Tho' at the same time they have a strange conceit of their own Sufficiency, when they grow near 20 Years old, especially if they happen to have a small Smattering of Learning. 'Tis then they fancy themselves wiser than all their Tutors and Governors, which makes them headstrong to all advice, and above all Reproof and Admonition.

I was sorry in the morning to find myself stopt in my Career ²¹ by bad Weather brought upon us by a North-East Wind. This drives a World of Raw unkindly Vapours upon us from Newfoundland, loaden with Blite, Coughs, and Pleurisy. However, I complain'd not, lest I might be suspected to be tir'd of the good Company. Tho' Mrs. Fleming was not so much upon her Guard, but mutiny'd strongly at the Rain, that hinder'd her from pursuing her dear Husband. I said what I cou'd to comfort a Gentlewoman under so sad a Disappointment. I told her

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a Husband, that staid so much at Home as her's did, cou'd be no such violent Rarity, as for a Woman to venture her precious Health, to go daggling thro' the Rain after him, or to be miserable if she happen'd to be prevented. That it was prudent for marry'd people to fast Sometimes from one another, that they might come together again with the better Stomach. That the best things in this World, if constantly us'd, are apt to be cloying, which a little absence and Abstinence wou'd prevent. This was Strange Doctrine to a fond Female, who fancys People shou'd love with as little Reason after Marriage as before. In the Afternoon Monsieur Marij, the Minister of the Parish, came to make me a Visit. He had been a Romish Priest, but found Reasons, either Spiritual or temporal, to quit that gay Religion. The fault of this new Convert is, that he looks for as much Respect from his Protestant Flock, as is paid to the Popish Clergy, which our ill-bred Hugonots dont understand. Madam Marij, had so much Curiosity as to want to come too; but another Horse was wanting, and she believ'd it would have too Vulgar an Air to ride behind her Husband. This Woman was of the true Exchange Breed, full of Discourse, but void of Discretion, and marry'd a Parson, with the Idle hopes he might some time or other come to be his Grace of Canterbury. The Gray Mare is the better Horse in that Family, and the poor man Submits to her wild Vagarys for Peace' Sake. She has just enough of the fine Lady, to run in debt, and be of no signification in her Household. And the only thing that can prevent her from undoing her loving Husband will be, that nobody will trust them beyond the 16000,* which is soon run out in a Goochland store. The way of Dealing there is, for some small Merchant or Pedler to buy a Scots Pennyworth of

* Sixteen thousand Pounds of Tobacco was the legal Salary of a Minister.—Ed.

Goods, and clap 150 p cent. upon that. At this Rate the Parson cant be paid much more for his preaching than tis worth. No sooner was our Visiter retired, but the facetious Widow was so kind as to let me into all this Secret History, but was at the same time exceedingly Sorry that the Woman should be so indiscreet, and the man so tame as to be govern'd by an unprofitable and fantastical Wife.

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We had another wet day, to try both Mrs. Fleming's Patience 22 and my good Breeding. The N E Wind commonly sticks by us 3 or 4 days, filling the Atmosphere with damps, injurious both to man and Beast. The worst of it was, we had no good Liquor to warm our Blood, and fortify our Spirits against so strong a Malignity. However, I was cheerful under all these Misfortunes, and exprest no Concern but a decent Fear lest my long visit might be troublesome. Since I was like to have thus much Leisure, I endeavour'd to find out what Subject a dull marry'd man cou'd introduce that might best bring the Widow to the Use of her Tongue. At length I discover'd she was a notable Quack, and therefore paid that regard to her Knowledge, as to put some Questions to her about the bad distemper that raged then in the Country. I mean the Bloody Flux, that was brought us in the Negro-ship consigned to Colo. Braxton. She told me she made use of very Simple remedys in that Case, with very good Success. She did the Business either with Hartshorn Drink, that had Plantain Leaves boil'd in it, or else with a Strong decoction of St. Andrew's Cross, in New milk instead of Water. I agreed with her that those remedys might be very good, but would be more effectual after a dose or two of Indian Physick. But for fear this Conversation might be too grave for a Widow, I turn'd the discourse, and began to talk of Plays, & finding her Taste lay most towards Comedy, I offer'd my Service to read one to Her, which she kindly accepted. She produced the 2d part of the Beggar's Opera, which had diverted the Town for

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40 Nights successively, and gain'd four thousand pounds to the Author. This was not owing altogether to the Wit or Humour that Sparkled in it, but to some Political Reflections, that seem'd to hit the Ministry. But the great Advantage of the Author was, that his Interest was solicited by the Dutches of Queensbury, which no man could refuse who had but half an Eye in his head, or half a Guinea in his Pocket. Her Grace, like Death, spared nobody, but even took my Lord Selkirk in for 2 Guineas, to repair which Extravagance he liv'd upon Scots Herrings 2 Months afterwards. But the best Story was, she made a very Smart Officer in his Majesty's Guards give her a Guinea, who Swearing at the same time twas all he had in the World, she sent him 50 for it the next day, to reward his Obedience. After having acquainted my Company with the History of the Play, I read 3 Acts of it, and left Mrs. Fleming and Mr. Randolph to finish it, who read as well as most Actors do at a Rehearsal. Thus we kill'd the time, and triumpht over the bad Weather.

- 23 The Clouds continued to drive from the N-Est, and to menace us with more Rain. But as the Lady resolv'd to venture thro' it, I thought it a Shame for me to venture to flinch. Therefore, after fortifying myself with 2 capacious Dishes of Coffee, and making my Complements to the Ladyes, I mounted, and Mr. Randolph was so kind as to be my Guide. At the distance of about 3 Miles, in a Path as narrow as that which leads to Heaven, but much more dirty, we reacht the homely dwelling of the Reverend Mr. Marij. His Land is much more barren than his Wife, and needs all Mr. Bradley's Skill in Agriculture to make it bring Corn. Thence we proceeded five Miles farther, to a Mill of Mr. Randolph's, that is apt to stand still when there falls but little Rain, and to be carry'd away when there falls a great deal. Then we pursu'd a very blind Path 4 Miles farther, which puzzled my Guide,

who I suspect led me out of the way. At length we came into a great Road, where he took leave, after giving me some very confus'd Directions, and so left me to blunder out the rest of the Journey by myself. I lost myself more than once, but soon recover'd the right way again. About 3 Miles after quitting my Guide, I pass'd the S Branch of Pomunky River, near 50 Yards over, and full of Stones. After this, I had 8 Miles to Mr. Chiswell's, where I arriv'd about 2 a'Clock, and sav'd my Dinner. I was very handsomely entertain'd, finding every thing very clean, and very Good. I had not seen Mrs. Chiswell in 24 Years, which, alas! had made great Havoc with her pretty Face, and plow'd very deep Furrows in her fair Skin. It was impossible to know her again, so much the flower was faded. However, tho' she was grown an Old Woman, yet she was one of those absolute Rarities, a very good old Woman. I found Mr. Chiswell a sensible, well-bred Man, and very frank in communicating his knowledge in the Mystery of making Iron, wherein he has had long Experience. I told him I was come to Spy the Land, and inform myself of the Expence of carrying on an Iron work with Effect. That I sought my Instruction from Him, who understood the whole Mystery, having gain'd full Experience in every part of it; Only I was very sorry he had bought that Experience so dear. He answer'd that he would, with great Sincerity, let me into the little knowledge he had, and so we immediately entered upon the Business. He assured me the first step I was to take was to acquaint myself fully with the Quantity and Quality of my Oar. For that reason I ought to keep a good Pick-ax Man at work a whole Year to search if there be a Sufficient Quantity, without which it would be a very rash undertaking. That I shou'd also have a Skilful person to try the richness of the oar. Nor is it great Advantage to have it exceeding rich, because then it will yield Brittle Iron, which is not valuable. But the way to have it

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tough is to mix poor Oar and Rich together, which makes the poorer sort extremely necessary for the production of the best Iron. Then he shew'd me a Sample of the Richest Oar they have in England, which yields a full Moiety of Iron. It was of a Pale red Colour, smooth and greasy, and not exceedingly heavy; but it produced so brittle a Metal, that they were oblig'd to melt a poorer Oar along with it. He told me, after I was certain my Oar was good and plentiful enough, my next inquiry ought to be, how far it lyes from a Stream proper to build a furnace upon, and again what distance that Furnace will be from Water Carriage; Because the Charge of Carting a great way is very heavy, and eats out a great part of the Profit. That this was the Misfortune of the Mines of Frederickville, where they were oblig'd to Cart the Oar a Mile to the Furnace, and after twas run into Iron, to carry that 24 Miles, over an uneven Road to Rappahannock River, about a Mile below Frederickburgh, to a Plantation the Company rented of Colo. Page. If I were satisfy'd with the Situation, I was in the next place to consider whether I had Woodland enough near the Furnace to Supply it with Charcoal, whereof it wou'd require a prodigious Quantity. That the properest Wood for that purpose was that of Oyly kind, such as Pine, Walnut, Hiccory, Oak, and in short all that yields Cones, Nuts, or Acorns. That 2 Miles Square of Wood, wou'd supply a Moderate furnace; so that what you fell first may have time to grow up again to a proper bigness (which must be 4 Inches over) by that time the rest is cut down. He told me farther, that 120 Slaves, including Women, were necessary to carry on all the Business of an Iron Work, and the more Virginians amongst them the better; Tho' in that number he comprehended Carters, Colliers, and those that planted the Corn. That if there should be much Carting, it would require 1600 Barrels of Corn Yearly to Support the People, & the Cattle employ'd; nor dos even that Quantity

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suffice at Fredericksville. That if all these Circumstances shou'd happily concur, and you cou'd procure honest Colliers and Firemen, which will be difficult to do, you may easily run 800 Tuns of Sow Iron a Year. The whole charge of Freight, Custom, Commission, and other Expences in England, will not exceed 30 Shillings a Tun, and twill commonly sell for £6, and then the clear profit will amount to £4,, 10. So that allowing the ten Shillings for Accidents, you may reasonably expect a clear Profit of £4, which being multiply'd by 800, will amount to £3200 a year, to pay you for your Land and Negroes. But then it behooved me to be fully inform'd of the whole Matter myself, to prevent being impos'd upon; and if any offer'd to put tricks upon me, to punish them as they deserve. Thus ended our Conversation for this day, and I retir'd to a very clean Lodging in another House, and took my Bark, but was forced to take it in Water, by reason a light finger'd Damisell had ranfact my Baggage, and drunk up my Brandy. This unhappy Girl, it seems, is a Baronet's Daughter; but her Complexion, being red hair'd, inclin'd her so much to Lewdness, that her Father sent her, under the Care of the virtuous Mr. Cheep, to seek her fortune on this Side the Globe.

My Friend, Mr. Chiswell, made me reparation for the Rob- 24
bery of his Servant; by filling my Bottle again with good Brandy. It being Sunday, I made a Motion for going to Church, to see the growth of the Parish, but unluckily the Sermon happen'd to be at the Chappel, which was too far off. I was unwilling to tire my Friend with any farther discourse upon Iron, and therefore turn'd the Conversation to other Subjects. And talking of Management, he let me into 2 Secrets worth remembering. He said the quickest way in the world to stop the Fermentation of any Liquor was to keep a lighted Match of Brimstone under the Cask for some time. This is useful in so warm a Country as this, where cyder is apt

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to work itself off both of its Strength and sweetness. The other Secret was to keep Weevels out of Wheat and other Grain. You have nothing to do, said he, but to put a Bag of Pepper into every heap, or Cask, which those Insects have such an Antipathy to that they will not approach it. These Receipts he gave me, not upon Report, but upon his own repeated Experience. He farther told me he had brew'd as good Ale of Malt made of Indian Corn as ever he tasted; all the objection was, he cou'd neither by Art, or Standing, ever bring it to be fine in the Cask. The Quantity of Corn he employed in brewing a Cask of 40 Gallons was 2 Bushels and a half, which made it very Strong and pleasant. We had a Hanch of Venison for Dinner, as fat and well tasted as if it had come out of Richmond Park. In these upper parts of the Country the Deer are in better Case than below, tho' I believe the Buck which gave us so good a Dinner had eaten out his Value in Peas, which will make Deer exceeding fat. In the Afternoon, I walkt with my Friend to his Mill, which is half a Mile from his House. It is built upon a Rock very firmly, so that tis more apt to suffer by too little Water, (the Run not being over plentiful,) than too much. On the other side of this Stream lye several of Colo. Jones' Plantations. The poor Negroes upon them are a kind of Adamites, very Scantily supply'd with cloaths and other necessaries; Nevertheless, (which is a little incomprehensible,) they continue in perfect health, and none of them dye, except it be of Age. However, they are even with their Master, and make him but indifferent Crops, so that he gets nothing by his injustice, but the Scandal of it. And here I must make One Remarque, which I am a little unwilling to do for fear of encouraging of Cruelty, that those Negroes which are kept the barest of cloaths & Bedding are commonly the freest from Sickness. And this happens, I suppose, by their being all Face, and

therefore better proof against the sudden changes of Weather, to which this Climate is unhappily Subject. 1732
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After saying some very civil things to Mrs. Chifwell, for my 25
handsome Entertainment, I mounted my Horse, and Mr. Chifwell his Phaeton, in order to go to the Mines at Frederickville. We cou'd converse very little by the way, by reason of our different Voitures. The Road was very Straight and level the whole Journey, which was 25 Miles, the last ten whereof I rode in the Chair, and my friend on my Horse, to ease ourselves by that Variety of Motion. About a Mile before we got to Frederickville, we forded over the North Branch of Pomunky, about 60 Yards over. Neither this nor the South Branch run up near so high as the Mountains, but many Miles below them spread out into a kind of Morafs, like Chickahominy. When we approacht the Mines, there open'd to our View a large Space of clear'd Ground, whose Wood had been cut down for coaling. We Arriv'd here about 2 A'Clock, and Mr. Chifwell had been so provident as to bring a Cold Venison Pasty, with which we appeased our Appetites, without the Impatience of waiting. When our Tongues were at leizure for discourse, my Friend told me there was one Mr. Harison, in England, who is so universal a dealer in all Sorts of Iron, that he cou'd govern the Market just as he pleas'd. That it was by his artful Management that our Iron from the Plantations sold for less than that made in England, tho' it was generally reckon'd much better. That Ours wou'd hardly fetch 6£ a Tun, when their's fetcht 7 or 8, purely to serve that Man's Interest. Then he explain'd the Several Charges upon our Sow Iron, after it was put on Board the Ships. That in the first place it paid 7/6 a Tun for Freight, being just so much clear gain to the Ships, which carry it as Ballast, or wedge it in among the Hogheads. When it gets Home, it pays 3/9 custome. These Articles together make no more than 11/3, and yet the Merchants,

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by their great Skill in Multiplying Charges, Swell the account up to near 30s a Tun by that time it gets out of their Hands, and they are continually adding more and more, as they serve us in our Accounts of Tobacco. He told me a strange thing about Steel, that the making of the best remains at this day a profound Secret in the breast of a very few, and therefore is in danger of being lost, as the Art of Staining of Glafs, and many others, have been. He cou'd only tell me they us'd Beech Wood in the making of it in Europe, & burn it a Considerable time in powder of Charcoal; but the Mystery lies in the Liquor they quench it in. After dinner we took a walk to the Furnace, which is elegantly built of Brick, tho' the Hearth be of Fire-Stone. There we saw the Founder, Mr. Derham, who is paid 4 Shillings for every Tun of Sow Iron that he runs, which is a Shilling cheaper than the last Workman had. This Operator lookt a little Melancholy, because he had nothing to do, the Furnace having been Cold ever since May, for want of Corn to Support the Cattle. This was however no neglect of Mr. Chiswell, because all the Persons he had contracted with had basely disappointed him. But having receiv'd a small Supply, they intended to blow very soon. With that view they began to heat the Furnace, which is 6 Weeks before it comes to that intense heat required to run the Metal in perfection. Nevertheless, they commonly begin to blow when the Fire has been kindled a Week or ten days. Close by the Furnace stood a very spacious House full of Charcoal, holding at least 400 Loads, which will be burnt out in 3 Months. The Company has contracted with Mr. Harry Willis to fall the Wood, and then maul it and cut it into pieces of 4 feet in length, and bring it to the Pits where it is to be coal'd. All this he has undertaken to do for 2 Shillings a Cord, which must be 4 foot broad, 4 foot high, and 8 foot long. Being thus carry'd to the Pits, the Collier has contracted to Coal it for 5 Shillings a Load,

conſiſting of 160 Buſhels. The Fire in the Furnace is blown by 2 Mighty pair of Bellows, that coſt one Hundred pounds each, and theſe Bellows are mov'd by a great Wheel of 26 foot diameter. The Wheel again is carry'd round by a ſmall Stream of Water, conveyed about 350 Yards over Land in a Trough, from a Pond made by a wooden Dam. But there is great want of Water in a dry Seaſon, which makes the Furnace often blow out, to the great prejudice of the Works. Having thus fill'd my Head with all theſe Particulars, we return'd to the Houſe, where, after talking of Colo. Spotſwood, and his Stratagems to ſhake off his Partners, and ſecure all his Mines to himſelf, I retired to a homely Lodging, which, like a homespun Miſtreſs, had been more tolerable, if it had been ſweet.

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Over our Tea, Mr. Chiſwell told me the expence which the 26 Company had been already at amounted to near Twelve Thouſand Pounds: But then the Land, Negroes, and Cattle were all included in that Charge. However, the Money began now to come in, they having run 1200 Tuns of Iron, and all their heavy diſburſements were over. Only they were ſtil forc'd to buy great Quantities of Corn, becauſe they had not Strength of their own to make it. That they had not more than 80 Negroes, and few of thoſe Virginia born. That they need 40 Negroes more to carry on all the Buſineſs with their own Force. They have 15000 Acres of Land, tho' little of it rich except in Iron, and of that they have a great Quantity. Mr. FitzWilliams took up the mine tract, and had the addreſs to draw in the Governor, Capt. Pearſe, Dr. Nicolas and Mr. Chiſwell to be jointly concern'd with him, by which contrivance he firſt got a good price for the Land, and then, when he had been very little out of Pocket, ſold his Share to Mr. Nelſon for 500£; and of theſe Gentlemen the Company at preſent conſiſts. And Mr. Chiſwell is the only perſon amongſt them that knows any thing of the matter, and has 100£ a year for looking after

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the Works, and richly deserves it. After breaking our Fast we took a walk to the principal Mine, about a Mile from the Furnace, where they had sunk in some places about 15 or 20 foot deep. The Operator, Mr. Gordon, rais'd the Oar, for which he was to have by contract 1/6 p Cart-Load of 26 Hundred Weight. This man was oblig'd to hire all the Laborers he wanted for this Work of the Company, after the rate of 25/ a Month, and for all that was able to clear 40£ a-year for himself. We saw here several large Heaps of oar of 2 sorts, one of rich, and the other Spongy and poor, which they melted together to make the Metal more tough. The way of raising the oar was by blowing it up, which Operation I saw here from beginning to End. They first drill'd a hole in the Mine, either upright or Sloping, as the grain of it required. This hole they cleans'd with a Rag fasten'd to the End of an Iron with a Worm at the end of it. Then they put in a Cartridge of Powder containing about 3 Ounces, and at the same time a Reed full of fuse that reacht to the Powder. Then they ramm'd dry Clay, or soft Stone very hard into the Hole, and lastly they fired the fuse with a Paper that had been dip't in a Solution of Saltpetre and dry'd, which burning Slow and Sure, gave leizure to the Engineer to retire to a proper distance before the Explosion. This in the Miner's Language is call'd making a Blast, which will loosen several hundred Weight of Oar at once; and afterwards the Laborers easily separate it with Pick-axes and carry it away in Baskets up to the Heap. At our return we saw near the Furnace large Heaps of Mine with Charcoal mixet with it, a Stratum of each alternately, beginning first with a layer of Charcoal at the Bottom. To this they put Fire, which in a little time spreads thro' the whole Heap, and calcines the Oar, which afterwards easily crumbles into small pieces fit for the Furnace. Then was likewise a mighty Quantity of Limestone, brought from Bris-

tol, by way of ballast, at 2/6 a Tun, which they are at the Trouble to Cart hither from Rappahannock River, but contrive to do it when the Carts return from carrying of Iron. They put this into the Furnace with the Iron Oare, in the proportion of one Tun of Stone to ten of Oar, with design to absorb the Sulphur out of the Iron, which wou'd otherwise make it brittle. And if that be the use of it, Oyfter Shells wou'd certainly do as well as LimeStone, being altogether as strong an Alkali, if not Stronger. Nor can their being taken out of Salt water be any Objection, because tis pretty certain the West India LimeStone, which is thrown up by the Sea, is even better than that imported from Bristol. But the founders who never try'd either of these will by no means be perswaded to go out of their way, tho' the Reason of the thing be never so evident. I observ'd the richer Sort of Mine, being of a dark Colour Mixt with rust, was laid in a heap by itself, and so was the poor, which was of a Liver or Brick Colour. The Sow Iron is in the Figure of a half-round, about two feet and a half-long, weighing 60 or 70 Pounds, whereof 3000 weight make a Cart-load drawn by 8 Oxen, which are commonly shod to save their Hoofs in those Stony ways. When the Furnace blows, it runs about 20 Tuns of Iron a Week. The founders find it very hot work to tend the Furnace, especially in Summer, and are oblig'd to spend no small part of their Earnings in strong Drink to recruit their Spirits. Besides the Founder, the Collier, and Miner, who are paid in proportion to their Work, the Company have several other Officers upon Wages, a Stock-taker, who weighs and measures every thing, a Clerk, who keeps an Account of all Receipts and Disbursements, a Smith to Shoe their Cattle, and keep all their Iron work in repair, a wheel-Wright, Cartwright, Carpenter, and Several Carters. The Wages of all these persons amount to one Hundred Pounds a Year; so that including Mr. Chiswell's Salary, they disburse

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200£ p Annum in standing Wages. The Provisions too are a heavy Article, which their Plantations dont yet produce in a Sufficient Quantity, tho' they are at the Charge of a general Overseer. But while Corn is so short with them, there can be no great Increase of Stock of any kind.

- 27 Having now pretty well exhausted the Subject of Sow Iron, I askt my Friend some Questions about Bar-Iron. He told me we had as yet no Forge erected in Virginia, tho' we had 4 Furnaces. But there was a very good one set up at the head of the Bay in Maryland, that made exceeding good Work. He let me know that the duty in England upon Bar Iron was 24s a Tun, and that it sold there from Ten to 16 pounds a Tun. This wou'd pay the Charge of Forging abundantly, but he doubted the Parliament of England would soon forbid us that Improvement, lest after that we shou'd go farther, and manufacture Our Bars into all Sorts of Iron Ware, as they already do in New England & Pennsylvania. Nay, he question'd whether we shou'd be suffer'd to cast any Iron, which they can do themselves at their Furnaces. Thus ended our Conversation, and I thankd my Friend for being so free in communicating every thing to me. Then, after tipping a Pistole to the Clerk, to drink prosperity to the Mines with all the Workmen, I accepted the kind offer of going part of my Journey in the Phaeton. I took my Leave about ten, and drove over a Spacious Level Road ten Miles, to a Bridge built over the River Po, which is one of the 4 Branches of Matopany, about 40 Yards wide. Two Miles beyond that, we passed by a Plantation belonging to the Company, of about 500 Acres, where they keep a great Number of Oxen to relieve those that have dragg'd their loaded Carts thus far. Three Miles farther we came to the Germanna Road, where I quitted the Chair, and continued my Journey on Horseback. I rode 8 Miles together over a Stony Road, and had on either side continual poison'd

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Fields, with nothing but Saplings growing on them. Then I came into the Main County Road, that leads from Frederickburgh to Germanna, which last place I reacht in Ten Miles more. This famous Town consists of Colo. Spotswood's enchanted Castle on one Side of the Street, and a Baker's Dozen of ruinous Tenements on the other, where so many German Familys had dwelt some Years ago; but are now remov'd ten Miles higher, in the Fork of Rappahannock, to Land of their Own. There had also been a Chappel about a Bow-Shot from the Colonel's house, at the End of an Avenue of Cherry Trees, but some pious people had lately burnt it down, with intent to get another built nearer to their own homes. Here I arriv'd about three a'clock, and found only Mrs. Spotswood at Home, who receiv'd her Old acquaintance with many a gracious Smile. I was carry'd into a Room elegantly set off with Pier Glasses, the largest of which came soon after to an odd Misfortune. Amongst other favourite Animals that cheer'd this Lady's Solitude, a Brace of Tame Deer ran familiarly about the House, and one of them came to stare at me as a Stranger. But unluckily Spying his own Figure in the Glas, he made a spring over the Tea Table that stood under it, and shatter'd the Glas to pieces, and falling back upon the Tea Table, made a terrible Fracas among the China. This Exploit was so sudden, and accompany'd with such a Noise, that it surpriz'd me, and perfectly frighten'd Mrs. Spotswood. But twas worth all the Damage to shew the Moderation and good humour with which she bore this disaster. In the Evening the noble Colo. came home from his Mines, who saluted me very civilly, and Mrs. Spotswood's Sister, Miss Theky, who had been to meet him *en Cavalier*, was so kind too as to bid me welcome. We talkt over a Legend of old Storys, sup'd about 9, and then prattl'd with the Ladys, til twas time for a Travellour to retire. In the mean time I observ'd my old Friend to be very Uxorious, and exceedingly fond of his Child-

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ren. This was so opposite to the Maxims he us'd to preach up before he was married, that I cou'd not forbear rubbing up the Memory of them. But he gave a very good-natur'd turn to his Change of Sentiments, by alleging that whoever brings a poor Gentlewoman into so solitary a place, from all her Friends and acquaintance, wou'd be ungrateful not to use her and all that belongs to her with all possible Tendernefs.

- 28 We all kept Snug in our several apartments till Nine, except Miss Theky, who was the Housewife of the Family. At that hour we met over a Pot of Coffee, which was not quite strong enough to give us the Palsy. After Breakfast the Colo. and I left the Ladys to their Domestick Affairs, and took a turn in the Garden, which has nothing beautiful but 3 Terrace Walks that fall in Slopes one below another. I let him understand, that besides the pleasure of paying him a Visit, I came to be instructed by so great a Master in the Mystery of Making of Iron, wherein he had led the way, and was the Tubal Cain of Virginia. He corrected me a little there, by assuring me he was not only the first in this Country, but the first in North America, who had erected a regular Furnace. That they ran altogether upon Bloomerys in New England & Pennsylvania, till his Example had made them attempt greater Works. But in this last Colony, they have so few Ships to carry their Iron to Great Britain, that they must be content to make it only for their own use, and must be oblig'd to manufacture it when they have done. That he hoped he had done the Country very great Service by setting so good an Example. That the 4 Furnaces now at work in Virginia circulated a great Sum of Money for Provisions and all other necessarys in the adjacent Countys. That they took off a great Number of Hands from Planting Tobacco, and employ'd them in Works that produced a large Sum of Money in England to the persons concern'd, whereby the Country is so much the Richer. That they are besides a considerable advantage to Great Britain,

because it lessens the Quantity of Bar Iron imported from Spain, 1732
Holland, Sweden, Denmark and Muscovy, which used to be no Sept.
less than 20,000 Tuns yearly, tho' at the same time no Sow
Iron is imported thither from any Country but only from the
Plantations. For most of this Bar Iron they do not only pay
Silver, but our Friends in the Baltick are so nice, they even
expect to be paid all in Crown Pieces. On the contrary, all
the Iron they receive from the Plantations, they pay for it in
their own Manufactures, and send for it in their own Shipping.
Then I inquired after his own Mines, and hoped, as he was the
first that engaged in this great undertaking, that he had brought
them to the most perfection. He told me he had Iron in
several Parts of his great Tract of Land, consisting of 45,000
Acres. But that the Mine he was at work upon was 13 Miles
below Germanna. That his Oar (which was very rich) he
raif'd a Mile from his Furnace, and was oblig'd to Cart the
Iron, when it was made, 15 Miles to Massaponux, a Plantation
he had upon Rappahanock River; But that the Road was
exceeding good, gently declining all the way, and had no more
than one Hill to go up in the whole Journey. For this reason
his loaded carts went it in a day without difficulty. He said it
was true His works were of the oldest Standing: but that his
long absence in England, and the wretched Management of Mr.
Greame, whom he had entrusted with his Affairs, had put him
back very much. That what with Neglect and Severity, above
80 of his Slaves were lost while he was in England, and most
of his Cattle starved. That his Furnace stood still great part
of the time, and all his Plantations ran to ruin. That indeed
he was rightly serv'd for committing his Affairs to the care of a
Mathematician, whose thoughts were always among the Stars.
That nevertheless, since his return, he had apply'd himself to
rectify his Steward's Mistakes, and bring his Business again into
Order. That now he had contriv'd to do every thing with his

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own People, except raising the Mine and running the Iron, by which he had contracted his Expence very much. Nay, he believ'd that by his directions he cou'd bring sensible Negroes to perform those parts of the work tolerably well. But at the same time he gave me to understand, that his Furnace had done no great Feats lately, because he had been taken up in building an Air Furnace at Massaponux, which he had now brought to perfection, and shou'd be thereby able to furnish the whole Country with all Sorts of Cast Iron, as cheap and as good as ever came from England. I told him he must do one thing more to have a full Vent for those Commodities, he must keep a Chaloupe running into all the Rivers, to carry his Wares home to people's own Doors. And if he wou'd do that I wou'd set a good Example, and take of a whole Tun of them. Our Conversation on this Subject continued till Dinner, which was both elegant and plentiful. The afternoon was devoted to the ladies, who shew'd me one of their most beautiful Walks. They conducted me thro' a Shady Lane to the Landing, and by the way made me drink some very fine Water that issued from a Marble Fountain, and ran incessantly. Just behind it was a cover'd Bench, where Miss Theky often sat and bewail'd her Virginity. Then we proceeded to the River, which is the South Branch of Rappahanock, about 50 Yards wide, and so rapid that the Ferry Boat is drawn over by a Chain, and therefore called the Rapidan. At night we drank prosperity to all the Colonel's Projects in a Bowl of Rack Punch, and then retired to our Devotions.

- 29 Having employ'd about 2 hours in Retirement, I Sally'd out at the first Summons to Breakfast, where our conversation with the Ladies, like Whip Sillabub, was very pretty, but had nothing in it. This it seems was Miss Theky's Birth day, upon which I made her my Compliments, & wish't she might live twice as long a marry'd Woman as she had liv'd a Maid. I did not

presume to pry into the Secret of her Age, nor was she forward to disclose it, for this humble Reason, lest I shou'd think her Wisdom fell short of her Years. She contriv'd to make this day of her Birth a day of Mourning, for having nothing better at present to set her Affections upon, she had a Dog that was a great Favourite. It happen'd that very Morning the poor Curr had done something very uncleanly upon the Colo's Bed, for which he was condemn'd to dye. However, upon her entreaty, she got him a Reprieve; but was so concern'd that so much severity shou'd be intended on her Birth day, that she was not to be comforted; and lest such another Accident might Oust the poor Curr of his Clergy, she protested she would board out her Dog at a Neighbour's House, where she hoped he wou'd be more kindly treated. Then the Colo. and I took another turn in the Garden, to discourse farther on the Subject of Iron. He was very frank in communicating all his dear-bought Experience to me, and told me very civilly he wou'd not only let me into the whole Secret, but wou'd make a Journey to James River, and give me his faithful Opinion of all my Conveniences. For his part he wisht there were many more Iron works in the Country, provided the partys concerned wou'd preserve a constant Harmony among themselves, and meet and consult frequently, what might be for their common Advantage. By this they might be better able to manage the Workmen, and reduce their Wages to what was just and reasonable. After this frank Speech, he began to explain the whole charge of an Iron-work. He said, there ought at least to be an Hundred Negroes employ'd in it, and those upon good Land would make Corn, and raise Provisions enough to support themselves and the Cattle, and do every other part of the Business. That the Furnace might be built for 700£, and made ready to go to work, if I went the nearest way to do it, especially since coming after so many, I might correct their Errors and avoid their

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Miscarriages. That if I had Oar and Wood enough, and a convenient Stream of Water to set the Furnace upon, having neither too much nor too little Water, I might undertake the Affair with a full Assurance of Success. Provided the distance of Carting be not too great, which is exceedingly burdensome. That there must be abundance of Wheel Carriages, shod with Iron, and several Teams of Oxen, provided to transport the Wood that is to be coal'd, and afterwards the Coal and Oar to the Furnace, and last of all the Sow Iron to the nearest Water Carriage, and carry back Limestone & other necessarys from thence to the Works; and a Sloop also would be useful to carry the Iron on Board the Ships, the Masters not being always in the Humour to fetch it. Then he enumerated the people that were to be hired, viz.: a Founder, a Mine-raiser, a Collier, a Stock-taker, a Clerk, a Smith, a Carpenter, a Wheelwright, and Several Carters. That these altogether will be a Standing charge of about £500 a Year. That the amount of Freight, Custom, Commission and other Charges in England, comes to 27s a Tun. But that the Merchants yearly find out means to inflate the Account with New Articles, as they do in those of Tobacco. That, upon the whole matter, the Expences here and in England may be computed modestly at 3£. a Tun. And the rest that the Iron sells for will be clear gain, to pay for the Land and Negros, which tis to be hoped will be £3 more for every Tun that is sent over. As this Account agreed pretty near with that which Mr. Chifwell had given me, I set it down (notwithstanding it may seem a Repetition of the same thing) to prove that both these Gentlemen were sincere in their Representations. We had a Michaelmas Goose for Dinner, of Miss Theky's own raising, who was now goodnatur'd enough to forget the Jeopardy of her Dog. In the afternoon we walkt in a Meadow by the River side, which winds in the form of a Horseshoe about Germanna, making it a Peninsula, containing

about 400 Acres. Rappahanock forks about 14 Miles below this place, the Northern Branch being the larger, and consequently must be the River that bounds My Lord Fairfax's Grant of the Northern Neck. 1732
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The Sun rose clear this Morning, and so did I, and finisht all my little Affairs by Breakfast. It was then resolv'd to wait on the Ladys on Horseback, since the bright Sun, the fine Air, and the wholesome Exercise, all invited us to it. We forded the River a little above the Ferry, and rode 6 Miles up the Neck to a fine Level piece of Rich Land, where we found about 20 Plants of Ginseng, with the Scarlet Berrys growing on the top of the Middle Stalk. The Root of this is of wonderful Vertue in many Cases, particularly to raise the Spirits and promote Perspiration, which makes it a Specifick in Colds and Coughs. The Colo. complemented me with all we found, in return for my telling him the Vertues of it. We were all pleas'd to find so much of this King of Plants so near the Colonel's habitation, and growing too upon his own Land; but were, however, surprized to find it upon level Ground, after we had been told it grew only upon the North Side of Stony Mountains. I carry'd home this Treasure, with as much Joy, as if every Root had been a Graft of the Tree of Life, and wash'd and dry'd it carefully. This Airing made us as Hungry as so many Hawks, so that between Appetite and a very good Dinner, twas difficult to eat like a Philosopher. In the Afternoon the Ladys walkt me about amongst all their little Animals, with which they amuse themselves, and furnish the Table; the worst of it is, they are so tender-hearted, they Shed a Silent Tear every time any of them are kill'd. At Night the Colo. and I quitted the threadbare Subject of Iron, and changed the Scene to Politicks. He told me the Ministry had receded from their demand upon New England, to raise a standing Salary for all succeeding Governors, for fear some curious Members of the

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House of Commons shou'd enquire How the Money was disposed of, that had been raised in the other American Colonys for the Support of their Governors. And particularly what becomes of the $4\frac{1}{2}$ p cent., paid in the Sugar Colonys for that purpose. That Duty produces near £20,000 a Year, but being remitted into the Exchequer, not one of the West India Governors is paid out of it; but they, like Falcons, are let loose upon the People, who are complaisant enough to settle other Revenues upon them, to the great impoverishing of these Colonys. In the mean time, tis certain the money raised by the $4\frac{1}{2}$ p cent. moulders away between the Minister's Fingers, no body knows how, like the Quitrents of Virginia. And tis for this Reason that the Instructions, forbidding all Governors to accept of any presents from their Assemblies, are dispensed with in the Sugar Islands, while tis strictly insisted upon every where else, where the Assemblies were so wise as to keep their Revenues among themselves. He said further, that if the Assembly in New England would stand Bluff, he did not see how they cou'd be forced to raise Money against their Will, for if they shou'd direct it to be done by Act of Parliament, which they have threaten'd to do, (though it be against the Right of Englishmen to be taxed, but by their Representatives,) yet they wou'd find it no easy matter to put such an Act in Execution. Then the Colonel read me a Lecture upon Tar, affirming that it cant be made in this warm Clymate, after the manner they make it in Sweden and Muscovy, by barking the Tree 2 Yards from the Ground, whereby the Turpentine descends all into the Stump in a Year's time, which is then split in pieces in order for the Kiln. But here the Sun fries out the Turpentine in the Branches of the Tree, when the leaves are dry'd, and hinders it from descending. But, on the Contrary, those who burn Tar of Lightwood in the common way, and are careful about it, make as good as that which comes from the East Country,

nor will it burn the Cordage more than that doſ. Then we enter'd upon the Subject of Hemp, which the Colonel told me he never cou'd raiſe here from foreign Seed, but at laſt ſow'd the Seed of Wild Hemp, (which is very common in the upper parts of the Country) and that came up very thick. That he ſent about 500 lbs. of it to England, and that the Commiſſioners of the Navy, after a full tryall of it, reported to the Lords of the Admiralty, that it was equal in goodneſs to the beſt that comes from Riga. I told him if our Hemp were never ſo good, it would not be worth the making here, even tho' they ſhou'd continue the Bounty. And my Reaſon was, becauſe labour is not more than two pence a day in the Eaſt Country where they produce Hemp, and here we cant compute it at leſs than Ten Pence, which being five times as much as their Labour, and conſidering beſides, that our Freight is 3 times as dear as theirs, the Price that will make them rich will ruin us, as I have found by woſull Experience. Beſides, if the King, who muſt have the Refuſal, byys our Hemp, the Navy is ſo long in paying both the price and the Bounty, that we who live from Hand to Mouth cant afford to wait ſo long for it. And then our good Friends, the Merchants, load it with ſo many charges, that they run away with great part of the profit themſelves. Juſt like the Bald Eagle, which after the Fiſhing Hawk has been at great pains to catch a Fiſh, pounces upon and takes it from him. Our converſation was interrupted by a Summons to Supper, for the Ladys, to ſhew their power, had by this time brought us tamely to go to Bed with our Bellys full, thou' we both at firſt declar'd poſitively againſt it. So very pliable a thing is frail Man, when Women have the bending of him.

Our Ladys overſlept themſelves this Morning, ſo that we did not break our Faſt till Ten. We drank Tea made of the Leaves of Ginfeng, which has the Vertues of the Root in a weaker Degree, and is not diſagreeable. So Soon as we cou'd

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force our Inclinations to quit the Ladys, we took a turn on the Terrace walk, and diſcourſt upon quite a New Subject. The Colo. explain'd to me the difference betwixt the Galleons and the Flota, which very few People know. The Galleons, it ſeems, are the Ships which bring the Treafure and other Rich Merchandize to Carthagene from Portobel, to which place it is brought over Land, from Panama & Peru. And the Flota is the Squadron that brings the Treafure, &c., from Mexico and New Spain, which make up at La Vera Cruz. Both theſe Squadrons rendezvous at the Havanna, from hence they ſhoot the Gulph of Florida, in their return to Old Spain. That this important Port of the Havanna is very poorly fortify'd, and worſe garrison'd & provided, for which reaſon it may be eaſily taken. Beſides, both the Galleons and Flota, being confin'd to Sail thro' the gulph, might be intercepted by our Stationing a Squadron of Men of War at the moſt convenient of the Bahama Iſlands. And that thoſe Iſlands are of vaſt conſequence for that purpoſe. He told me alſo that the aſſogue Ships are they that carry QuickSilver to Portobello and La Vera Cruz, to refine the Silver, and that, in Spaniſh, aſſogue ſignifyſ Quickſilver. Then my Friend unriddled to me the great myſtery, why we have endured all the late Inſolences of the Spaniards ſo tamely. The Aſſiento Contract, and the Liberty of ſending a Ship every Year to the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, make it very neceſſary for the South Sea Company to have Effects of great Value in that part of the World. Now theſe being always in the Power of the Spaniards, make the Directors of that Company very fearful of a Breach, and conſequently very generous in their offers to the Miniſtry to prevent it. For fear theſe worthy Gentlemen ſhou'd Suffer, the Engliſh Squadron, under Admiral Hoſier, lay Idle at the Baſtimentos, till the Ships' Botoms were eaten out by the Worm, and the Officers and Men, to the number of 5000, dyed like Rotten ſheep, without being

suffer'd, by the Strictest Orders, to Strike one Stroke, tho' ¹⁷³² they might have taken both the Flota and Galleons, and made ^{Oct.} themselves Masters of the Havanna into the Bargain, if they had not been chain'd up from doing it. All this Moderation, our peaceable Ministry shew'd even at a time when the Spaniards were furiously attacking Gibraltar, and taking all the English Ships they could, both in Europe and America, to the great and Everlasting Reproach of the British Nation. That some of the Ministry, being tired out with the Clamours of the Merchants, declared their Opinion for War, and while they entertain'd those Sentiments they pitch't upon him, Colo. Spotswood, to be Governor of Jamaica, that by his Skill and Experience in the Art Military, they might be the better able to execute their design of taking the Havanna. But the Courage of these worthy Patriots soon cool'd, and the Arguments us'd by the South Sea Directors, perswaded them once again into more pacifick Measures. When the Scheme was drop't, His Government of Jamaica was drop't at the same time, and then General Hunter was judg'd fit enough to rule that Island in time of peace. After this the Colo. endeavour'd to convince me that he came fairly by his Place of PostMaster-General, notwithstanding the Report of some Evil dispos'd persons to the Contrary. The case was this, Mr. Hamilton, of New Jersey, who had formerly had that Post, wrote to Colo. Spotswood, in England, to favour him with his Interest to get it restor'd to him. But the Colo. considering wisely that Charity began at Home, instead of getting the Place for Hamilton, secured it for a better Friend: tho', as he tells the Story, that Gentleman was absolutely refus'd, before he spoke the least good word for himself.

This being the day appointed for my departure from hence, I ₂ pack't up my Effects in good time; but the lad'ys, whose dear compan'ys we were to have to the Mines, were a little tedious

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in their Equipment. However, we made a Shift to get into the Coach by ten a'clock; but little Master, who is under no Government, would by all means go on Horseback. Before we set out I gave Mr. Ruffel the Trouble of distributing a Pistole among the Servants, of which I fancy the Nurse had a pretty good share, being no small Favorite. We drove over a fine Road to the Mines, which lye 13 Measured Miles from the Germanna, each mile being mark't distinctly upon the Trees. The Colo. has a great deal of Land in his Mine tract exceedingly barren, and the growth of Trees upon it is hardly big enough for Coal-ing. However, the Treasure under Ground makes amends, and renders it worthy to be his Lady's Jointure. We lighted at the Mines, which are a Mile nearer to Germanna than the Furnace. They raise abundance of Oar there, great part of which is very Rich. We saw his Engineer blow it up after the following Manner. He drill'd a hole about 18 Inches deep, humouring the Situation of the Mine. When he had dryed it with a Rag fastened to a worm, he charged it with a Cartridge containing 4 Ounces of Powder, including the Priming. Then he ramm'd the Hole up with soft Stone to the very Mouth; after that he pierced thro' all with an Iron called a Primer, which is taper and ends in a Sharp point. Into the hole the Primer makes the Priming is put, which is fired by a paper moisten'd with a Solution of SaltPetre. And this burns leizurely enough, it seems, to give time for the Persons concerned to retreat out of Harm's way. All the Land hereabouts seems pav'd with Iron Oar; so that there seems to be enough to feed a Furnace for many Ages. From hence we proceeded to the Furnace, which is built of rough Stone, having been the first of that kind erected in the Country. It had not blown for Several Moons, the Colo. having taken off great part of his People to carry on his Air Furnace at Massaponux. Here the Wheel that carry'd the Bellows was no more than 20 Feet Diameter; but was an Overshot Wheel

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that went with little Water. This was necessary here, because Water is something Scarce, notwithstanding tis supply'd by 2 Streams, One of which is conveyed 1900 Feet thro' wooden Pipes, and the other 60. The Name of the Founder employed at present is one Godfrey, of the Kingdom of Ireland, whose Wages are 3/6 p Tun for all the Iron he runs, and his provisions. This Man told me that the best Wood for Coaling is red Oak. He Complain'd that the Colo. Starves his Works out of Whimsicalness and Frugality, endeavouring to do every thing with his own people, and at the same time taking them off upon every Vagary that comes into his Head. Here the Cole carts discharge their Load at folding Doors, made at the Bottom, which is sooner done, and Shatters the cole less. They carry no more than 110 Bushels. The Colo. advised me by all means to have the coal made on the same side of the River with the Furnace, not only to avoid the Charge of Boating and Baggs, but likewise to avoid breaking of the coals, and making them less fit for use. Having pick't the Bones of a Surloin of Beef, we took leave of the Ladys, and rode together about 5 Miles, where the Roads parted. The Colo. took that to Massaponux, which is 15 Miles from his Furnace, and very level, and I that to Fredericksburgh, which cant be less than 20. I was a little benighted, and should not have seen my way, if the Lightening, which flash't continually in my Face, had not befriended me. I got about seven a'clock to Colonel Harry Willis's, a little moisten'd with the Rain; but a Glass of good Wine kept my Pores open, and prevented all Rheums and Defluxions for that time.

I was oblig'd to rise Early here, that I might not starve my Landlord, whose constitution requires him to Swallow a Beef-Steak before the Sun blesses the World with its genial Rays. However, he was so complaisant as to bear the gnawing of his Stomach, till 8 a'Clock for my Sake. Colo. Waller, after a Score of loud

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Hems to clear his Throat, broke his faſt along with us. When this neceſſary affair was deſpatched, Col. Willis walk't me about his Town of Frederickſburgh. It is pleaſantly ſituated on the South Shore of Rappahannock River, about a Mile below the Falls. Sloops may come up and lye cloſe to the Wharf, within 30 Yards of the Public Warehouſes, which are built in the figure of a Croſs. Juſt by the Wharf is a Quarry of White Stone that is very ſoft in the Ground, and hardens in the Air, appearing to be as fair and fine grain'd as that of Portland. Beſides that, there are ſeveral other Quarries in the River Bank, within the Limits of the Town, ſufficient to build a great City. The only Edifice of Stone yet built is the Priſon; the Walls of which are ſtrong enough to hold Jack Sheppard, if he had been tranſported thither. Tho' this be a commodious and beautiful Situation for a Town, with the Advantages of a Navigable River, and wholeſome Air, yet the Inhabitants are very few. Beſides Colo. Willis, who is the top man of the place, there are only One Merchant, a Taylor, a Smith and an Ordinary keeper; though I muſt not forget Mrs. Leviſtone, who Acts here in the Double Capacity of a Doctreſs and Coffee Woman. And were this a populous City, ſhe is qualify'd to exerciſe 2 other callings. Tis ſaid the Court-houſe and the Church are going to be built here, and then both Religion and Juſtice will help to enlarge the Place. 2 Miles from this place is a Spring ſtrongly impregnated with Alom, and ſo is the Earth all about it. This water dos wonders for thoſe that are afflicted with a Dropſy. And on the other ſide the River, in King George County, 12 Miles from hence, is another Spring of ſtrong Steel water, as good as that at Tunbridge Wells. Not far from this laſt Spring are England's Iron Mines, call'd ſo from the Chief Manager of them, tho' the Land belongs to Mr. Waſhington. Theſe Mines are 2 miles from the Furnace, and Mr. Waſhington raiſes the Oar, and Carts it thither for 20ſ the Tun of Iron that it yields.

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The Furnace is built on a Run, which discharges its waters into Potomeck. And when the Iron is cast, they Cart it about 6 Miles to a Landing on that River. Besides Mr. WASHINGTON and Mr. England, there are several other Persons, in England, concerned in these Works. Matters are very well managed there, and no Expence is spared to make them profitable, which is not the case in the works I have already mention'd. Mr. England can neither write nor read; but without those helps, is so well skill'd in Iron works, that he dont only carry on this Furnace, but has likewise the Chief Management of the Works at Principia, at the head of the Bay, where they have also erected a Forge & make very good Bar Iron. Colo. Willis had built a Flue to try all sorts of Oar in, which was contriv'd after the following manner. It was built of Stone 4 foot Square with an Iron grate fixed in the Middle of it for the Fire to lye upon. It was open at the Bottom, to give a free passage to the Air up to the Grate. Above the Grate was another Opening that carry'd the Smoke into a chimney. This makes a Draught upward, and the fire Rarifying the air below, makes another draught underneath, which causes the fire to burn very fiercely, and Melt any Oar in the Crucibles that are set upon the Fire. This was erected by a Mason call'd Taylor, who told me he built the Furnace at Frederickville, and came in for that purpose at 3/6 a day, to be paid Him from the time he left his House in Gloucestershire, to the time he returned thither again, unless he chose rather to remain in Virginia after he had done his Work. It happen'd to be Court day here, but the Rain hinder'd all but the most quarrellsome People from coming. The Colo. brought 3 of his Brother Justices to dine with us, namely, John Taliesero, Majr Lightfoot, & Captain Green, and in the Evening Parson Kenner edify'd us with his Company, who left this Parish for a better, without any regard to the poor Souls he had half sated, of the Flock he abandon'd.

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Oct. 4. The Sun rising very bright, invited me to leave this Infant City; accordingly, about ten, I took leave of my Hospitable Landlord, and persuaded parson Kenner to be my Guide to Massaponux, lying 5 Miles off, where I had agreed to meet Colo. Spotswood. We arriv'd there about 12, and found it a very pleasant and commodious Plantation. The Colo. receiv'd us with open Arms, and carry'd us directly to his Air Furnace, which is a very ingenious and profitable contrivance. The use of it is to melt his Sow Iron, in Order to cast it into sundry Utensils, such as Backs for Chimneys, Andirons, Fenders, Plates for Hearths, Pots, Mortars, Rollers for Gardeners, Skillets, Boxes for Cart Wheels; and many other things, which, one with another, can be afforded at 20^s/a Tun, and deliver'd at People's own Homes. And, being cast from the Sow Iron, are much better than those which come from England, which are cast immediately from the Oar for the most part. Mr. Flowry is the Artift that directed the Building of this Ingenious Structure, which is contrived after this Manner. There is an Opening about a foot Square for the fresh Air to pass thro' from without. This leads up to an Iron Grate that holds about half a Bushel of Sea Coal, and is about 6 foot higher than the opening. When the Fire is kindled, it rarifys the Air in such a Manner as to make a very strong Draught from without. About too foot above the Grate is a hole that leads into a kind of Oven, the Floor of which is laid Shelving towards the Mouth. In the Middle of this Oven, on one Side, is another hole that leads into the Funnel of a Chimney, about 40 foot high. The Smoak mounts up this way, drawing the Flame after it with so much force, that in less than an hour it melts the Sows of Iron that are thrust towards the upper end of the Oven. As the Mettal melts it runs towards the Mouth into a hollow place, out of which the Potter lades it in Iron Ladles, in order to pour it into the Several Moulds just by. The Mouth of the Oven is

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Stopt close with a Moveable stone Shutter, which he removes so soon as he perceives, thro' the peep holes, that the Iron is melted. The inside of the Oven is lined with soft Bricks, made of Sturbridge or Windsor Clay, because no other will endure the intense heat of the Fire. And over the Floor of the Oven they strew sand taken from the Land, and not from the Water side. This Sand will melt the 2d Heat here, but that which they use in England will bear the fire 4 or 5 times. The Potter is also obliged to Plaister over his Ladles with the same Sand moisten'd, to save them from melting. Here are 2 of these Air Furnaces in one Room, that so in case one want repair, the other may work, they being exactly of the same Structure. The Chimneys and other outside work of this building are of Free-Stone, rais'd near a Mile off, on the Colonel's own land. And were built by his Servant, whose Name is Kerby, a very compleate Workman. This Man disdains to do any thing of rough work, even where neat is not required, lest any one might say hereafter, Kerby did it. The Potter was so complaisant as to shew me the whole Process, for which I paid him and the other Workmen my respects in the most agreeable way. There was a great deal of Ingenuity in the framing of the Moulds, wherein they cast the Several Utensils, but without breaking them to pieces, I found there was no being let into that Secret. The Flakes of Iron that fall at the Mouth of the Oven are call'd Geets, which are melted over again. The Colo. told me, in my Ear, that Mr. Robert Cary, in England, was concerned with him, both in this and his other Iron works, not only to help support the Charge, but also to make Friends to the Undertaking at home. His Honour has settled his Cousin, Mr. Greame, here as PostMaster, with a Salary of £60 a Year, to reward Him for having ruin'd his Estate while he was absent. Just by the Air Furnace stands a very Substantial Wharf, close to which any Vessel may ride in

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Safety. After satisfying our Eyes with all these Sights, we Satisfy'd our Stomachs with a Surloin of Beef, and then the Parson and I took leave of the Colo., and left our Blessing upon all his works. We took our way from thence to Major Woodford's, 7 Miles off, who lives upon a high Hill that affords an extended Prospect. On which Account tis dignify'd with the Name of Windfor. There we found Rachel Cocke, who stay'd with her Sister some time, that she might not lose the use of her Tongue in this lonely Place. We were receiv'd graciously, and the Evening was Spent in talking and toping, and then the Parson and I were conducted to the same Apartment, the House being not yet finish'd.

- 5 The Parson slept very peaceably, and gave me no disturbance, so I rose fresh in the Morning, and did Credit to the Air by eating a hearty Breakfast. Then Major Woodford carry'd me to the house where he cuts Tobacco. He Manufactures about 60 Hogsheads yearly, for which he gets after the Rate of 11 pence a Pound, and pays Himself liberally for his Trouble. The Tobacco he cuts is long Green, which, according to its name, bears a very long leaf, and consequently each Plant is heavier than common Sweet-scented or Townsend Tobacco. The worst of it is the Veins of the Leaf are very large, so that it loses its weight a good deal by Stemming. This kind of Tobacco is much the Fashion in these parts, and Jonathan Forward (who has great Interest here) gives a good price for it. This Sort the Major cuts up, and has a Man that performs it very handily. The Tobacco is stemm'd clean in the first place, and then laid straight in a Box, and press'd down hard by a press that gos with a Nut. This Box is shov'd forward towards the Knife by a Screw, receiving its motion from a Treadle, that the Engineer sets a-going with his Foot. Each Motion pushes the Box the exact length which the Tobacco ought to be of, according to the Saffron or oblong cut, which it seems yields one

penny in a Pound more at London than the Square Cut, tho' at Bristol they are both of equal price. The Man strikes down the Knife once at every Motion of the Screw, so that his hand and foot keep exact pace with each other. After the Tobacco is cut in this Manner, tis Sifted first thro' a Sand Riddle, and then thro' a Dust Riddle, till tis perfectly clean. Then tis put into a tight Hoghead, and prest under the Nut, till it weighs about a Thousand Neat. One Man performs all the work after the Tobacco is stemm'd, so that the Charge bears no proportion to the Profit. One considerable Benefit from planting long Green Tobacco is, that tis much hardyer, and less Subject to fire than other sweet scented, tho' it smells not altogether so fragrant. I surpriz'd Mrs. Woodford in her Housewifery in the meat-house, at which she blush'd as if it had been a Sin. We all walkt about a Mile in the Woods, where I shew'd them several useful Plants, and explained the Vertues of them. This Exercise, and the fine Air we breath'd in, sharpen'd our appetites so much that we had no mercy on a Ribb of Beef that came attended with Several other good things at dinner. In the afternoon, we tempted all the Family to go along with us to Major Ben. Robinson's, who lives on a high Hill, call'd Moon's Mount, about 5 Miles off. On the Road we came to an Eminence, from whence we had a plain View of the Mountains, which seem'd to be no more than 30 Miles from us, in a straight line, tho', to go by the Road, it was near double that distance. The Sun had just time to light us to our Journey's End, and the Major receiv'd us with his usual good Humour. He has a very Industrious wife, who has kept him from Sinking by the Weight of Gaming & Idleness. But he is now reform'd from those ruinous Qualities, and by the help of a Clerk's place, in a Quarrellsome County, will soon be able to clear his old Scores. We drank exceeding good Cyder here, the juice of the White Apple, which made us talkative till ten a'clock,

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and then I was conducted to a Bed-chamber, where there was neither Chair nor Table; however, I slept sound, and waked with strong tokens of Health in the Morning.

When I got up about Sunrise, I was surpriz'd to find that a
6 Fog had covered this high Hill; but theres a Marsh on the other side the River that sends its filthy Exhalation up to the Clouds. On the Borders of that Morass lives Mr. Lomax, a Situation fit only for Frogs and Otters. After fortifying myself with Toast and Cyder, and sweetening my Lips with saluteing the Lady, I took Leave, and the 2 Majrs conducted me about 4 Miles on my Way, as far as the Church. After that, Ben Robinson order'd his East Indian to conduct me to Colo. Martin's. In about ten Miles, we reacht Caroline Court-house, where Colo. Armistead and Colo. Will. Beverley, have each of 'em erected an ordinary, well supply'd with Wine & other Polite Liquors, for the Worshipful Bench. Besides these, there is a Rum Ordinary for Persons of a more Vulgar taste. Such Liberal Supplis of Strong Drink often make Justice nod, and drop the Scales out of her hands. Eight Miles beyond the Ordinary, I arriv'd at Colo. Martin's, who receiv'd me with more Gravity than I expected. But, upon inquiry, his Lady was Sick, which had lengthened his Face and gave him a very mournful Air. I found him in his Night-Cap and Banian, which is his ordinary dress in that retired part of the Country. Poorer land I never saw than what he lives upon; but the wholesomeness of the Air, and the goodness of the Roads, make some amends. In a clear day the Mountains may be seen from hence, which is, in truth, the only Rarity of the Place. At my first Arrival, the Colo. saluted me with a Glass of good Canary, and soon after filled my Belly with good Mutton and Cauliflowers. Two People were as indifferent Company as a man and his Wife, without a little Inspiration from the Bottle; and then we were forced to go as far as the

Kingdom of Ireland, to help out our Converſation. There, it ſeems, the Colo. had an Elder Brother, a Phyſician, who threatens him with an Eſtate ſome time or other; Tho' poſſibly it might come to him ſooner if the Succeſſion depended on the death of one of his Patients. By 8 a'Clock at Night we had no more to ſay, and I gaped wide as a Signal for retiring, whereupon I was conducted to a clean Lodging, where I would have been glad to exchange one of the Beds for a Chimney.

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This Morning Mrs. Martin was worſe, ſo that there were no hopes of ſeeing how much ſhe was alter'd. Nor was this all, but the Indispoſition of his Conſort made the Colo. intolerably grave and thoughtful. I prudently eat a Meat Breakfast, to give me Spirits for a long Journey, and a long Faſt. My Landlord was ſo good as to ſend his Servant along with me, to guide me thro' all the turnings of a difficult way. In about 4 Miles we croſt Mattaoponi River at Norman's Ford, and then Slanted down to King William County Road. We kept along that for about 12 Miles, as far as the New Brick Church. After that I took a blind Path, that carry'd me to ſeveral of Colo. Jones's Quarters, which border upon my Own. The Colonel's Overſeers were all abroad, which made me fearful I ſhou'd find mine as Idle as them. But I was miſtaken, for when I came to Gravel Hall, the firſt of my Plantations in King William, I found William Snead (that looks after 3 of them) very honeſtly about his buſineſs. I had the Pleaſure to ſee my People all well, and my Buſineſs in good forwardneſs. I viſited all the 5 Quarters on that Side, which ſpent ſo much of my time, that I had no leiſure to ſee any of thoſe on the Other ſide the River; Tho' I diſcourſt Thomas Tinſley, one of the Overſeers, who informed me how matters went. In the Evening Tinſley conducted me to Mrs. Sym's Houſe, where I intended to take up my Quarters. This Lady, at firſt Suſpecting I was ſome Lover, put on a Gravity that becomes a Weed;

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but so soon as she learnt who I was, brighten'd up into an unusual cheerfulness and Serenity. She was a portly, handsome Dame, of the Family of Esau, and seem'd not to pine too much for the Death of her Husband, who was of the Family of the Saracens. He left a Son by her, who has all the Strong Features of his Sire, not soften'd in the least by any of hers, so that the most malicious of her Neighbours cant bring his Legitimacy in Question, not even the Parson's Wife, whose unruly Tongue, they say, dont Spare even the Reverend Doctor, her Husband. This Widow is a Person of a lively & cheerful Conversation, with much less Reserve than most of her Countrywomen. It becomes her very well, and sets off her other agreeable Qualities to Advantage. We tost off a Bottle of honest Port, which we Relisht with a broil'd Chicken. At Nine I retir'd to my Devotions, And then Slept so Sound that Fancy itself was Stupify'd, else I shou'd have dreamt of my most obliging Landlady.

- 8 I moisten'd my Clay with a Quart of Milk and Tea, which I found altogether as great a help to discourse as the Juice of the Grape. The courteous Widow invited me to rest myself there that good day, and go to Church with Her, but I excus'd myself, by telling her she wou'd certainly spoil my Devotion. Then she civilly entreated me to make her House my Home whenever I visited my Plantations, which made me bow low, and thank her very kindly. From thence I crost over to Shaccoe's, and took Thomas Tinsley for my guide, finding the Distance about 15 Miles. I found every Body well at the Falls, blessed be God, tho' the Bloody Flux rag'd pretty much in the Neighbourhood. Mr. Booker had receiv'd a Letter the day before from Mrs. Byrd, giving an Account of great desolation made in our Neighbourhood, by the Death of Mr. Lightfoot, Mrs. Soan, Capt. Gerald and Colo. Henry Harrison. Finding the Flux had been so fatal, I desired Mr. Booker to

make uſe of the following Remedy, in caſe it ſhou'd come amongſt my People. To let them Blood immediately about 8 Ounces; the next day to give them a Doſe of Indian Phyſic, and to repeat the Vomit again the Day following, unleſs the Symptoms abated. In the mean time, they ſhou'd eat nothing but Chicken Broth, and Poacht Eggs, and drink nothing but a Quarter of a Pint of Milk boil'd with a Quart of Water, and Medicated with a little Mullein Root, or that of the prickly Pear, to reſtore the Mucus of the Bowels, and heal the Excoriation. At the ſame time, I order'd him to communicate this Method to all the poor Neighbours, and eſpecially to my Overſeers, with Strict Orders to uſe it on the firſt appearance of that Diſtemper, becauſe in that, and all other Sharp Diſeaſes, Delays are very dangerous. I alſo inſtructed Mr. Booker in the way I had learnt of Blowing up the Rocks, which were now Drill'd pretty full of Holes, and he promiſed to put it in Execution. After diſcourſing ſeriouſly with the Father about my Affairs, I joked with the Daughter in the evening, and about 8 retired to my Caſtle, and recollected all the Follies of the Day, the little I had learnt, and ſtill leſs good I had done.

My long Abſence made me long for the Domeſtick Delights of my own Family, for the Smiles of an Affectionate Wife, and the prattle of my Innocent Children. As ſoon as I ſally'd out of my Caſtle, I underſtood that Colo. Carter's Samm was come, by his Maſter's leave, to ſhew my people how to blow up the Rocks in the Canal. He pretended to great Skill in that matter, but perform'd very little, which however might be the Effect of Idleneſs rather than Ignorance. He came upon one of my Horſes, which he ty'd to a Tree at Shacoe's, where the poor Animal kept a Faſt of a Night and a day. Tho' this Fellow workt very little at the Rocks, yet my Man, Argalus, ſtole his Trade, and perform'd as well as he. For this good turn, I order'd Mr. Samuel half a Piſtole, all which he laid out

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with a New England Man for Rum, and made my Weaver and Spinning Woman, who has the happineſs to be called his Wife, exceedingly drunk. To puniſh the Varlet for all theſe Pranks, I ordered him to be baniſht from thence for ever, under the penalty of being whipt home, from Conſtable to Conſtable, if he preſum'd to come again. I left my Memorandums with Mr. Booker, of every thing I order'd to be done, and mounted my Horſe about ten, and in little more reacht Bermuda Hundred, and croſt over to Colo. Carter's. He, like an Induſtrious Perſon, was gone to overſee his overſeers at North Wales, but his Lady was at home, and kept me till Supper time before we went to dinner. As ſoon as I had done Juſtice to my Stomach, I made my honours to the good humour'd little Fairy, and made the beſt of my way home, where I had the great Satisfaction to find all that was deareſt to me in good health, nor had any diſaſter happen'd in the Family ſince I went away. Some of the neighbours had Worm fevers, with all the Symptoms of the Bloody Flux; but, bleſſed be God! their Diſtempers gave way to proper Remedys.





THE
Proceedings of the Commissioners

APPOINTED TO

Lay out the Bounds of the Northern Neck,
lying between the Rivers Potomack and
Rappahanock. Anno 1736.

THE Letters Patent by which the Northern Neck was granted to the Lord Colpepper and others, not having exprest the Western Bounds thereof very clearly, several Controversys arose between his Majesty's Governors of Virginia, and the Agents of the Lord proprietor about them. Many Patents were issued in the Kings Name for Lands, which his Lordship apprehended to be within his Grant, and his Agents on their Part likewise granted other Lands which the King's Governors did conceive belong'd to his Majesty. These Disputes encreasing every day, the Lord Fairfax being informed thereof, was very desirous to have the Bounds of his Patent finally settled, and therefore in the year 1733, His Lordship presented a Petition to his Majesty, praying that his Majesty would be pleased to order a Commission to issue, for ascertaining his Bounds, &c, which Petition will appear more particularly by the following Order of his Majesty in Council.

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At the Court at St James's the 29th of November 1733.

Present. The King's most Excellent Majesty in Council.

Whereas Thomas Lord Fairfax hath by Petition at this Board, humbly represented, that under Letters Patents granted to the Petitioner's Ancestors by King Charles the Second, bearing date, the th day of May in the one and twentieth of his Reign, and also by King James the Second, bearing date the 27th of September in the 4th year of his Reign, the Petitioner is intituled to the Fee Simple and Inheritance, of all that intire Tract, Territory, or Parcel of Land, situate in Virginia in America, and bounded by and within the first Heads or Springs of the Rivers Tappahanock, alias Rappahanock, & Quireough, alias Potomack & by the Courses of the said Rivers from their said first Heads or Springs (as they are commonly called or known by the Inhabitants & Discriptions of those parts) and the Bay of Chesapeyock, together with the said Rivers themselves, and all the Islands within the outermost Banks thereof and the Soil of all and Singular the Premises, and all Lands, Woods, Underwoods, Timber, Waters, Rivers, Havens, Ports, Harbours, Creeks, Ferrys, Advowsons, Royalties, Hereditaments, and so forth whatsoever, that not withstanding the Petitioner's Right to the Tract of Land under the said Grants, Several Disputes have arisen between His Majesty's Governor and Council of the Province of Virginia, & the Petitioners Agents touching the Boundaries thereof, and the said Governor and Council have from time to time Actually taken upon them to issue Grants of divers parcels of Land, part of the Petitioners said Tract, and have run out Surveys of other Parcels of Land, altho' the same, as the Petitioner apprehends, and is advis'd, were clearly within the Bounds of his said Tract, For remedy whereof for the Future, and in order to settle the Boundaries of the Petitioners said Tract or District, between his Majesty's Province of Virginia, and the Petitioner, he most humbly pray'd,

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that his Majesty would be graciously pleased, to order a Commission to issue, for running out, marking and ascertaining the Bounds of the Petitioners said Tract, or District of Land, agreeable to the Discription thereof, as express'd, & contain'd in the said several Grants from the Crown, & that His Majesty would be pleas'd to name, or caused to be named, such a Number of Commissioners for that purpose for the said Province of Virginia as his Majesty should think proper, to be joined with an equal number of Commissioners on the Petitioners behalf, and that the said Boundary Lines of the said Province of Virginia so far as the same Affect or concern the Petitioners said Tract of Land, and also the Boundary Lines of the Petitioners said Tract or District of Land, may be survey'd, run out and mark't within a reasonable time to be limited for that purpose, and in case the said Boundary Lines shall not be run, settled and ascertained within the time to be so limited as aforesaid, that then His Majesty would be pleas'd to hear the Petitioner by his Council on the Premises, and to give such order and make such Determination concerning the same, as to His Majesty in his great Wisdom shou'd seem meet, and that his Majestys Governor of the Province of Virginia, might be directed and prohibited from making Grants of any Lands lying within the Boundaries insisted by the Petitioner or his said Agent or Attorney to belong to the Petitioner under the said Grant from the Crown, untill the said Boundary Lines shall be settled and ascertain'd as aforesaid. His Majesty in Council was this day pleas'd to take the said Petition into His Royal Consideration, together with the Opinion of a Committee of his privy Council, and of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations thereupon, And is hereby pleased to Order, that the Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Virginia shall nominate three, or more Commissioners (not exceeding Five) who in conjunction with a like Number to be named and Deputed by

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the Lord Fairfax; are to survey & settle the marks and Boundaries of the said District of Land agreeable to the Terms of the Patents under which the Lord Fairfax claims, within the Space of two years after the arrival of this order. And his Majesty is further pleas'd to order, that in the mean time the said Lieutenant Governor of Virginia do not presume to make any Grants of Lands within the abovemention'd Tract.

JAMES VERNON.

In Obedience to the above order of his Majesty in Council (which the Lord Fairfax brought over to Virginia himself, but did not think fit to produce it to the Governor til more than 2 years after the Date thereof) his Honour William Gooch Esq, was pleas'd to issue the following Commission to William Byrd, John Robinson and John Grymes Esq^{rs}

William Gooch Esq^r, His Majesty's Lieu^t Governor and Commander in Cheif of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia, To whom these presents shall come Greeting.

Whereas the Right Honorable Thomas Lord Fairfax by his Petition to his Majesty in his Privy Council, hath humbly represented, that under Letters Patents granted to his Ancestors, by King Charles the Second on the Eighth day of May in the 21st Year of his Reign, and by King James the Second, bearing date the Twenty Seventh day of September in the fourth Year of his Reign, he the said Thomas Lord Fairfax is entituled to the Fee-Simple and Inheritance of all that intire Tract, Territory, or Parcel of Land, situate in Virginia in America, and bounded by and within the first Heads, or Springs of the Rivers Tappahanock, alias Rappahanock, and Quireouch, alias Potomack, the courses of the said Rivers from their said first Heads or Springs (as they are commonly called or known by the Inhabitants, and description of those Parts) and the Bay of

Chefapeak, together with the Rivers themselves, and all the Islands within the outermost Banks thereof. And further represented to his Majesty, that several Disputes have arisen, touching the Boundaries of the said Territory, and thereupon did humbly Supplicate his Majesty that for settling the Boundaries of the Petitioners said Tract, his Majesty would be pleas'd to order a Commission to issue, and for running, marking and Ascertaining the Bounds of the Petitioners said Tract or District of Land, agreeable to the Description thereof, as expressed and contain'd in the said Grants thereof from the Crown, as in and by the said Petition (amongst other things) is more at large contain'd, And whereas his Majesty upon Consideration of the said Petition, hath been graciously pleas'd by order in his privy Council, bearing Date the 29th day of November 1733, to direct me to nominate three or more Commissioners (not exceeding five) who in Conjunction with the like Number to be named and deputed by the said Lord Fairfax, are to Survey and settle the Marks and Boundaries of the said District of Land, agreeable to the Terms of the Patents under which the Lord Fairfax claims, within the time therein limited. Know ye therefore that in Obedience to his Majesty's Royal Commands, and for the more Speedy and Exact performance of the Service aforesaid, and for removing all future Disputes and Controversies, touching The Boundaries between his Majesty and the said Lord Fairfax, I reposing Special Trust and Confidence in the Loyalty, fidelity and known Ability of William Byrd of Westover in the County of Charles City Esq^r, John Robinson of Piscattoway in the County of Essex Esq^r, and John Grymes of Brandon in the County of Middlesex Esq^r Members of his Majesty's Council in this Dominion, have Nominated, deputed, and by these Presents do Nominate, Depute and appoint the said William Byrd, John Robinson & John Grymes, Commissioners on behalf of his Majesty for the Purposes herein before mention'd giving

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and granting unto the said Commissioners full Power and Authority, by all Lawfull Ways and Means, to examine, settle, and determine all Matters and things touching and concerning the said Several Boundaries, according to the true interest and meaning, and Genuine Sence and construction of the Several Letters Patents, Granted for the said Tract and Territory, and for the better enabling the said Commissioners to perform the said Service, I do further give and grant unto them full Power and Authority, to call before them all and every Person and Persons, by whom the Truth in the Premises may be more fully known and explain'd, and their and every of their Affidavits and Depositions openly and plainly in the Presence of the said Lord Thomas Fairfax, His Agents, Deputy's, or Commissioners to take or Cause to be taken in Writing, and in all Offices as well of Record as other ways, within this Dominion, to enquire, or cause to be Searcht for all Papers, Muniments, and Records, whereby the Boundaries aforesaid may be more clearly and distinctly known and discover'd, hereby requiring the Clerks, and other Officers concerned in the keeping the said Offices and Records, to give unto the said Commissioners free Access unto the Same, and to furnish them with Extracts, Transcripts, and Copies thereof, for which the usual Fees shall be duly Satisfied and paid out of his Majesty's Revenues. And I do moreover give and Grant unto the said Commissioners full Power and Authority, such and so many Surveyors, Chain-Carryers, Markers, and Attendants, as they shall find necessary for the Service aforesaid, to take, hire, and employ, hereby requiring the said Commissioners in case any difficulty should happen to arise, so as the said Boundaries cannot be settled, and ascertain'd on the place, in Conjunction with the Commissioners appointed by the said Lord Fairfax, a full true and exact Report of all Matters of Tract, and other their Proceedings, Specially to return to me or the Commander in Chief of this Colony and Dominion for

the time being, in order to be laid before his Majesty for his final Determination. 1736
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Given under my hand, and the Seal of the Colony at Williamsburgh the Seventh Day of September 1736. In the Tenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the 2nd by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith &c.

When the Lord Fairfax, understood that the Gentlemen abovemention'd were named Commissioners on the part of the King, he sent word by M^r Baradel that he had so good an Opinion of their Justice, that he would abide by their Decision without appointing any Commissioners of his own, upon which Complement the following paper was sent to his Lordship to sign, in Order to confirm what his Council had said.

To all People to whom these Presents shall come. Thomas Lord Fairfax, Proprietor of all that Tract or Territory of Land commonly call'd the Northern Neck of Virginia sendeth Greeting—

Whereas by an Order made by his Majesty in his Privy Council bearing date the twenty ninth day of September one Thousand Seven hundred and thirty three, upon the humble Petition of the said Thomas Lord Fairfax His Majesty was pleas'd to direct the Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, to nominate three or more Commissioners (not exceeding five) who in Conjunction with a like Number to be named and deputed by the said Lord Fairfax, are to survey and settle the Marks and Boundaries of the aforesaid Tract or Territory of Land, agreeable to the Terms of the Letters Patents under which the said Lord Fairfax claims, as in the said order more fully is contain'd, And whereas in obedience to the said Order, the Honourable William Gooch Esq^r Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, hath

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nominated and appointed William Byrd, John Robinson, and John Grymes, Esquires, Members of his Majestys Council of Virginia, Commissioners on behalf of his Majesty to execute the Order aforesaid.

Now know ye, that the said Thomas Lord Fairfax, having full confidence in the Honour and Integrity of the said William Byrd, John Robinson, and John Grymes, and therefore thinking it unnecessary to nominate and appoint any Commissioners on his Behalf, hath consented and agreed, and by these Presents doth consent and agree, that the said William Byrd, John Robinson, and John Grymes, shall and may without any Commissioners to be named by him the said Lord Fairfax, proceed to execute the Order of his Majesty herein before mention'd, and the said Thomas Lord Fairfax doth hereby declare, that it is his intent and meaning, that whatsoever the said William Byrd, John Robinson, and John Grymes shall Act and do in the Execution of the Order aforesaid, shall be as valid and effectual as if the same was done in Conjunction with other Commissioners nominated by him the said Thomas Lord Fairfax.

In witness whereof the said Thomas Lord Fairfax hath hereunto set his hand and Seal this tenth day of September, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and thirty six.

When this Declaration was sent to the Lord Fairfax to sign, he was pleas'd to refuse it, which shew'd that the Complement made by his Lordships order to the Kings Commissioners, was sheer Good Breeding. Upon his Refusal the Governor thought fit to give the following Instructions to his Majesty's Commissioners.

Instructions to William Byrd John Robinson, and John Grymes, Esq^{rs}, Commissioners appointed in behalf of his Majesty for running marking and ascertaining that Tract, Territory, or District of Land, Situate in Virginia in America, and claimed by the Right Honourable Thomas Lord Fairfax, as granted by Sundry Letters Patents to his Ancestors under the great Seal of England. 1736 Sept.

WHEREAS I have appointed you Commissioners in behalf of his Majesty, for Surveying and settling the Boundaries between His Majesty and the said Lord Fairfax, for your better Information in this Service, you will herewith receive Copies of the several Letters Patents granted by the Crown for the Territory aforementioned, Viz^t The Letters Patents granted by King Charles the Second, bearing date at S^t the 18th day of September in the first Year of his Reign, to Ralph Lord Hopton and others, then the Letters Patents granted by the said King Charles the Second bearing date at Westminster the 5th day of May in the one and twentieth Year of his Reign, to Henry Earl of S^t Albans and others, and lastly the Letters granted by King James the Second unto Thomas Lord Culpepper, bearing date at Westminster the 27th day of September in the fourth year of his Reign. And you will also herewith receive an order of his Present Majesty in his Privy Council, bearing date the 29th day of November 1733, made upon the humble petition of the said Thomas Lord Fairfax, in pursuance whereof you are now Commissionated & appointed, you will therefore carefully peruse & consider the said several Letters Patents, & the order of his Majesty aforementioned, and according to the true and genuine Sence and construction thereof, as soon as the Season of the year will permit your entering upon that Service, proceed to survey, mark, and settle the Boundaries of the said Tract or Territory

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 { Sept. of Land, taking notice, that by the aforesaid Order of his Majesty in his Privy Council, the said Service is to be perform'd within the Space of Two Years after the arrival of the said order, and that the time for the same must be reckon'd from the 15th day of October last past, when the said Order was first deliver'd to me.

And forasmuch as it may be necessary for the more clear Description of the Bounds in Controversy, to have exact Maps of the Rivers Rappahanock and Potomack and the Branches thereof to the first Heads or Springs so called or known, You are to cause the Surveyors so by you employ'd to prepare correct Mapps thereof, in order to be laid before his Majesty.

And if it shall so happen, that no Determination or Settlement of the Boundaries can be made upon the Place, and it be found necessary to have recourse to his Majesty for his final Determination, you are in that Case to be very Exact in taking the Affidavits and depositions of such Persons as you shall find proper to examine touching the said Rivers Rappahanock and Potomack, and how far they were known by those Names at the time of the last Grant made by King James the Second to the Lord Culpepper, and how far the Bounds of the Territory aforesaid were at that time reputed to extend, or have been since bounded by the Proprietors thereof or their Agents, and report all matters of Fact and Evidence, especially touching the Premises, to me, or the Commander in Chief of this Dominion for the time being, together with your Opinion wherein the Bounds now claim'd by the Lord Fairfax, are consistent or inconsistent with the Terms of the several Grants, as the same were call'd & known by the Inhabitants & descriptions of those Parts

Given under my hand at Williamsburgh this Eight day of
 September 1736

WILLIAM GOOCH.

The Lord Fairfax after deliberating a long time what Measures to take, determin'd at last to appoint 3 Commissioners of his own, to act in Conjunction with those of his Majesty, However he would not trust them to determine his Bounds, but only to settle matters of Fact, to be laid before the King for his final Determination, and this appears by his Lordships Commission as follows.

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To all People to whom these Presents shall come, Thomas Lord Fairfax Baron of Cameron in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, sendeth greeting,

Whereas the said Thomas Lord Fairfax by his Petition to his Majesty in his Privy Council, did humbly represent, that under Letters Patents granted to his Ancestors by King Charles the Second bearing date the Eight day of May in the Twenty first Year of his Reign, and by King James the Second bearing date the Twenty Seventh day of September in the fourth year of his Reign. He the said Thomas Lord Fairfax is entitled to the Fee Simple and Inheritance of all that intire Tract, Territory, or Parcel of Land Situate in Virginia in America, and bounded by & within the first Heads or Springs of the Rivers Rappahannock & Potoumeek (as they are commonly called and known by the Inhabitants and descriptions of those Parts) & the Bay of Chesapeak, together with the Rivers themselves and all the Islands within the outermost Banks thereof, and further representing to his Majesty that several Disputes have arisen touching the Boundaries of the said Territory, and thereupon did humbly Supplicate His Majesty, that for settling the Boundaries of the Petitioners said Tract, His Majesty would be graciously pleas'd to order a Commission to issue for running, marking, and ascertaining the Bounds of the said Petitioners said Tract or District of Land, agreeable to the Descriptions thereof, as express'd and contain'd in the Grant thereof from the Crown, as in and by

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the said Petition (among other things) is more at large contain'd, And whereas his Majesty upon Consideration of the said Petition, was graciously pleas'd by order in his Privy Council, to direct that the Lieutenant Governor of Virginia should nominate 3 or more Commissioners (not exceeding five) who in conjunction with a like Number, to be named and deputed by the said Lord Fairfax, should settle and Survey the marks and Boundaries of the said District of Land, agreeable to the Terms of the Patents under which the Lord Fairfax claims, within the Space of Two Years after the Arrival of the said Order, And whereas there is great difference of Opinion in the construction of the Grants aforesaid, what are and shall be taken and deem'd the first Heads or Springs of the Rivers therein mention'd, so that the Boundaries of the said Tract or Territory of Land cannot be finally settled or marked, until His Majesty shall have determin'd that matter, and it being necessary in order to such Determination, that true and exact Plans & Surveys be made of the said Rivers, & other Facts and Circumstances examined into and ascertained, & a Report thereof made to His Majesty, Know ye therefore, that in Obedience to His Majesty's said Order, The said Thomas Lord Fairfax, reposing special trust & confidence in Charles Carter of the County of King George Esq^r, William Beverley of the County of Essex Esq^r and William Fairfax of the County of Westmoreland Esq^r, hath nominated, deputed, and appointed, and by these presents doth nominate, depute, and appoint the said Charles Carter, William Beverley, and William Fairfax Commissioners on behalf of him the said Thomas Lord Fairfax, giving and by these presents granting unto the said Commissioners full Power & Authority to make or cause to be made any such Survey or Surveys as they shall think fit, for the better Discovery of the first Heads or Springs of the said Rivers Rappahanock and Potomack, & other Boundaries of the said Tract or Territory of Land, according to the true intent, meaning, & con-

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struction of the aforesaid Grants; And for that purpose to hire and employ such & so many Surveyors, Chain-Carriers, & Attendants, as they shall find necessary. And further to examine & inquire into all other Facts and Circumstances relating to, or concerning the said Boundaries, and to that End, to take the Affidavits and Depositions in Writing of any Person or Persons (being first Sworn before a Lawfull Magistrate) openly and plainly in the Presence of the Commissioners named on behalf of his Majesty, if they shall think fit to be present, and generally to do, & perform all & every other matter and thing, that to them shall seem necessary, & expedient, for the true performance of the Service herein before mention'd, Hereby requiring the said Commissioners, to make a full true & exact Report of all Matters of Fact, & other their Proceedings specially, in Order to be laid before his Majesty for his final determination, concerning the construction of the aforesaid Grants, and the said Thomas Lord Fairfax doth further give and Grant unto the said Commissioners, full Power & Authority to mark & settle the Boundaries aforesaid, after such determination of his Majesty shall be had & made, in Conjunction with such Commissioners as shall be nominated in behalf of his Majesty. In witness whereof the said Thomas Lord Fairfax hath unto set his Hand & Seal the thirteenth Day of September in the Tenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second, by the Grace of God of Great Britain France & Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, & in the year of our Lord one thousand Seven hundred & Thirty Six.

FAIRFAX. O

In obedience to the Order of His Majesty, & to the Governor's Commission thereupon, the Commissioners on the part of the King desired those of his Lordship, to meet them on the 25th of September at Frederickburgh, and they themselves repair'd

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thither accordingly at the time appointed, as appears by the Narrative of their Proceedings hereafter following.

The Commissioners on the part of the King arriv'd punctually at Fredericksburg at the day appointed, where they found only two of those named by the Lord Fairfax, Mr Carter was hinder'd by sickness who nevertheless came to us upon the 28th of September, and assented to all that his colleagues had agreed to before he came; These Gentlemen had not been Idle on account of his absence, believing the other two had power to proceed by virtue of their Majority

In the first place the Commissioners on behalf of the King caus'd their Commission to be read empowering them in Conjunction with those appointed by the Lord Fairfax, to Survey, mark and ascertain the Boundaries in Dispute. But when his Lordships Commission came to be produc't it appear'd his Commissioners were only empower'd to Survey the controverted Bounds, that so a State of the Facts might afterwards be laid before his Majesty for his Royal Determination.

This Defect in the Powers given by the Lord Fairfax to His Commissioners was the more to be wonder'd at, because in his Lordships Petition to the King, He had humbly beg'd His Majesty to Order, that Commissioners might be appointed, not only to survey the Boundaries in dispute, but also to mark and ascertain them. Nevertheless after the King had graciously condescended to grant his Petition, yet his Lordship now declined giving the necessary Powers to make his own asking effectual. However that His Majesty's Gracious Intentions might not be wholly frustrated, the Commissioners on the part of the King, by Favour of the Governor's Instructions did yield at last to cause the Bounds in Controversy to be survey'd and to procure all the Lights they cou'd besides, to enable them to lay the whole matter as clearly as possible before His Majesty, In order thereunto the two following Preliminaries were first agreed upon

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1. That in the execution of this whole Affair the Lord Fairfax shou'd defray one Moiety of the intire Expence

2. That the Bounds of all the Countys in the Northern Neck, tho' not in Dispute, shou'd be measured & laid off by the Surveyors of each County, that so the Extent of his Lordships Grant may the more distinctly appear. And Commissioners were sent to the said Surveyors accordingly. After that we commission'd and caus'd to be sworn M^r. Mayo & M^r. Brooks as Surveyors for His Majesty, who in Conjunction with M^r. Winslow & M^r. Savage on my Lord's part, shou'd run the Courfes & measure the distance of that Branch of Potomack called Co-haungoruton, from its confluence with Sharando, to the Head Spring thereof, with Orders to return an Exact Map of the said River, shewing all the Streams that run into the same on either Side. They were also directed to take the Latitude, & observe particularly where the said River intersected the 40th Degree. And in order to enable them to perform this difficult Service, we allotted them 13 Men & a large quantity of Provision

When these were dispatch't who had much farthest to go, we commission'd & swore M^r. Gream on behalf of the King, and M^r. Thomas on that of my Lord, to Survey and Measure the South Branch of Rappahannock, from the first Fork to the Head Spring & return an exact Map of the same describing all the Rivers & Creeks that discharge their Waters into it. And because M^r. Gream had not been much practised in Surveying, we allow'd Him to make use of M^r. Hume as an Assistant. We likewise order'd them to furnish themselves with 6 Men, & what Provisions shou'd be necessary for their Subsistence

We then empower'd and swore M^r. Wood for His Majesty, & M^r. Thomas the Younger for my Lord, to Survey and measure the North Branch of Rappahannock, and gave them the same orders we had given to those Surveyors who went up the South Branch. They were also directed to provide the same

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Number of Men to attend them & to take care to be furnish't with Provisions

Before the Surveyors enter'd upon their business, we measur'd all their chains to try their exactness, & at the same time gave them all orders to form their Draughts by the same Scale, that is to say after the rate of Six hundred Poles to an Inch.

While we staid at Fredericksburgh we lodg'd at Col^o Henry Willis's, but kept a magnificent Table at the Ordinary, and entertain'd all the Gentlemen that came to visit us, which were a great many. From thence we went to Col^o Charles Carters where our Entertainment was by no means extravagant

After all our matters were settled, relating to the Surveyors, we proceeded to the Fork of Rappahannock, and caus'd each Branch to be measured at the Mouth & found the North to be wider by 3 Poles and 9 Links tho' it was objected by his Lordship's Commissioners, that the South Branch was made narrower by an Island that ran along the South Shoar

We carry'd a Surloin of Beef with us from Col^o Carter's & pick't the Bones of it as clean as a Kennel of Wolves wou'd those of a wounded Buck, The same Gentleman furnish't us also with Strong Beer, but forgot a Vessel to drink out of. However we supply'd that want, with the Shell of a poor Tarapin which we destroy'd as Harry the 8th did Cardinal Wolfey, for the sake of his House. This shell we clean'd and drank out of it with as much Taste as if it had of Gold of Ophir, or one of Phalaris's Triacrian Cups. After this Refreshment we proceeded from thence to Germanna, where Col^o Spotwood receiv'd us very Courteously. And lest we shou'd have forgot the memorable Battles of the Duke of Marlborough, he fought them all over again to us the Nine and fortieth time

There the Commissioners for the King took the Depositions of M^r Taliofero, and M^r Thornton, and those for my Lord, that of M^r Ruffel, relating to the time the upper parts of Rap-

pannock have been inhabited, the particulars whereof will best appear by the Depositions themselves

1736
Sept.

John Taliofero, Gentleman aged about forty nine Years being sworn, Saith

That in or about the year of our Lord One thousand Seven Hundred & Seven, he came up to dwell where he now lives above Snow Creek, which he takes to be Nine Miles below the Falls of Rappahannock River, and that there was then but three Settlements above his House on the South side of the River & on the North side of the River the uppermost Plantation he knew of at that time, was about three Miles below the Falls. And he has been acquainted with the Fork of the River above twenty four Years & that one of the Forks was called the South Fork, and the other the North Fork, untill Col^o Spotswood above twenty Years ago named the South fork Rappidan, and it has ever since been so called, but the other has all a long been call'd Rappahannock, or the North River

JOHN TALIOFERO

Francis Thornton of Caroline County Gentleman aged fifty three Years and upwards, being sworn declared

That about Thirty four years ago, He came up to dwell where he now lives, below or on the lower Side of Snow Creek, which He takes to be Nine Miles below the Falls of Rappahannock River, and that then there were but two Settlements above his House on the South side of the River, the uppermost of which was about four Miles below the Falls. And on the North side of the River the uppermost Plantation he knew of at that time, was about two or three miles below the Falls & that he has been acquainted with the Fork of the River Rappahannock about Six or Seven and Twenty Years, and that one of the Forks was commonly called the South Branch and the other the North Branch

FRAN THORNTON

1736
Sept.William Ruffel aged Fifty Six Years & above being sworn,
Saith

That he has known the great Fork of Rappahannock River thirty five Years as a Hunter, and that one of the Branches has always been called the South River or South Fork of Rappahannock, and the other the North River, or North Fork, till he heard that Col^o Spotswood named the South River Rappidan, & the other since that hath been called Rappahannock, and that the uppermost Settlement thirty odd Years ago was a Tobacco House built by Capt Mount-joy, now Col^o Carters Quarter on the North side of the River, a little below the Fork, and that there was a Plantation at Seales about two Miles below the Falls. And that he saw some Posts of a House on Motts Land, upon the South Side of the River, which was said to be a House burnt down by the Indians, being about three or four Miles above the Falls, near thirty Years ago

WILLIAM RUSSEL,
his W Mark

These were all the Depositions that were taken by the Commissioners at the time. next follow the Commissions granted to the Surveyors.

By the Commissioners appointed in behalf of His Majesty for settling the Boundaries between His Majesty & the Right Honourable Thomas Lord Fairfax Proprietor of the Northern Neck

By vertue of the power and Authority to us given, We do hereby nominate & appoint you William Mayo & Robert Brooke Surveyors, in conjunction with such Surveyors as shall be appointed on the part of the Lord Fairfax, to survey & trace the River Cohongoruton as it is now commonly called, from its confluence with the River Sharando, according to your best Skill & understanding, keeping up the main Stream thereof, to

its Source or Head Spring & we do require you at your return to prepare & deliver to us an exact Plan or Map of the same together with a fair copy of your Field Notes, in which you shall fully and clearly describe all the Streams or Rivers falling into the same, by such Names as they are known, or called by the Indians or other Inhabitants & also to find the Variation of the Needle, and to observe the Latitude at all proper places especially noting where the Fortieth Degree will intersect the said Cohongoruton River & we do hereby give unto you the said William Mayo & Robert Brooke full power and Authority to carry with you Six chain carriers to be by you Sworn, according to the Law of this Colony and to agree with them for Wages not exceeding Three Shillings ^{per} Day, for which Service both you & they will be duly paid out of His Majesty's Revenue at your return, and we do hereby require all his Majesty's Subjects inhabiting the Colony of Virginia, and request all others in the Neighbouring Provinces through which you may have occasion to pass, to be aiding & assisting to you as occasion shall require, Given under our Hands & seals, this Twenty Seventh Day of September in the year of our Lord 1736

1736
Sept.

W BYRD O

JOHN ROBINSON O

JOHN GRYMES O

By the Commissioners appointed in behalf of his Majesty, for settling the Boundaries between His Majesty & the Right Honourable Thomas Lord Fairfax Proprietor of the Northern Neck.

By Vertue of the Powers & Authorities to us given, We hereby Nominate and appoint you John Greme Survey in Conjunction with such Surveyor who shall be appointed on the part of the Lord Fairfax, to survey & trace the River Rappahannock, as it is now commonly called, from the Falls of the said River

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Sept.

to the first great Fork thereof, and thence keeping up that Branch commonly called the Rappidan River going up the main Stream thereof to its Source or Head Spring—And we do require you at your Return, to prepare and deliver to us (according to your best Skill & understanding) an exact Plan or Map of the Same, together with a fair Copy of your Field Notes, wherein shall be justly & clearly described all the Streams falling into the Same, by such Names as they are Known or called by the Inhabitants of those parts: And also to take such observations of the Variation of the Compass, and of Latitude all proper places as may be necessary for the greater Accuracy of your Plan. And we do hereby give unto you full Power & Authority, to take with you three Chain carriers, to be by you sworn according to the Law of this Country & to agree with them at Two Shillings and Six Pence ^p Day; for which Service both you & they will be duly paid out of his Majesty's Revenue at your Return. And We do hereby require all his Majesty's Subjects, inhabiting this Colony to be aiding and assisting to you as occasion shall require

Given under our hands and Seals this Twenty Seventh day
of September in the Tenth Year of the Reign of our
Sovereign Lord George the Second King of Great
Britain &c

Annoque Dom 1736

W.B. O

J R. O

J. G. O

By the Commissioners appointed in behalf of His Majesty for settling the Boundaries between His Majesty and the Right Honourable Thomas Lord Fairfax Proprietor of the Northern Neck

By Vertue of the Powers and Authorities to us given, We do hereby nominate and appoint you James Wood Surveyor in

conjunction with such Surveyors as shall be appointed on the part of the said Lord Fairfax to survey & trace the North Branch of the River Rappahannock now commonly call'd Rappahannock, from the Fork or place where the Rappidan River falls into it, keeping up the main stream thereof to its Source or Head Spring, And we do require you at your Return to prepare and deliver unto us according to your best Skill and understanding, an exact Plan or Map of the same, together with a fair Copy of your Field Notes wherein shall be fully and clearly described all the Streams and Rivers falling into the same, by such names as they are known and called by the Inhabitants of these parrs, And Also to take such Observations of the Variation of the Compass and of the Latitude at all proper places, as may be necessary for the greater accuracy of your Plan. And we do hereby give unto you full power and Authority to take with you three chain carriers, to be by you sworn according to the Laws of this Colony, and to agree with them at Two Shillings and Six Pence p Day, for which Services both you and they will be duly paid out of His Majesty's Revenue at your Return. And We do hereby require all his Majesty's Subjects inhabiting this Colony, to be aiding and assisting to you as occasion shall require

1736
Sept.

Given under our hands and Seals this Thirtieth day of September in the Tenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second King of Great Britain &c Annoq₃ Dom 1736.

W BYRD	○
J ROBINSON	○
J GRYMES	○

We dispatch't away these Surveyors' without Loss of time, but they seem'd in no great Hurry themselves, They loiter'd so long at their first setting out, that the Commissioners thought it necessary to spur them with the following Letter

1736
Oct.October 5th 1736

Your proceedings Gentlemen have been very dilatory & we can't construe your conduct otherways than you imagine you are to be paid by the day & that you intend for that reason to make the most of, But that you may not deceive yourselves, & spend your time in Sloath & Merriment, we give you this fair Warning, that we will make a Strict Examination of every days proceedings, that you may be paid not according to your time, but according to your deserts, You ought to consider that the settled wages of the Chain Carryers will be a great Addition to the extraordinary expence already contracted and for that reason as well as that for your own Credit, you are bound with faithfull Diligence to prosecute the work, you have with too much Slackness began. We trust this necessary reproof will have its effect, recommend you to the good opinion of

Y. H. S.

W. BEVERLEY

W BYRD

W. FAIRFAX

C CARTER

Having mentioned before that we ordered the Surveyor's in the Northern Neck to survey the Bounds of their Respective Countys and return a correct Map thereof, it may be proper to set down a copy of one of these Orders whereby a Notion may be form'd of all the rest

By the Commissioners appointed in behalf of his Majesty for settling the Boundaries between His Majesty and the Right Honourable Thomas Lord Fairfax Proprietor of the Northern Neck

By vertue of the Power & Authorities to us given we do hereby appoint you John Savage Surveyor of Stafford County, forthwith to survey & trace the Bounds of your said County, from the Creek call'd upper Meckotick to the run of Chappa-

wamfick, according to your best Skill and understanding. And we do hereby require you to prepare and deliver to us upon oath an exact Mapp or Plan of the same, by a Scale of 800 Poles to one Inch together with a fair Coppy of your Field Notes, wherein shall be truly and clearly described, all the Rivers & Creeks within your said Survey by their proper Names, with the true wedth of the same, including the said Run of Chappawomfick & Mechtick Creek and also to take observation of the Latitude at Paspatansie, and we do hereby give you full Power and Authority to employ Two Chain Carryers, who shall be duely sworn according to the Laws of this Country & to agree with them for Wages not exceeding Two Shillings & Six Pence ¹⁷³⁶ } Day, for which Service both you and they shall be duely paid, and we hereby require all his Majesty's Subjects inhabiting the said County of Stafford to be aiding and assisting to you as Occasion shall require

Given under our hands & Seals this thirtieth day of September Anno Domini 1736

J G. J R. W. B. O

On the Back of this Order was the assent of my Lord Fairfax's Commissioners under all their hands in the Words following.

We the Underwritten Commissioners in behalf of the Lord Fairfax do hereby declare our assent that the within service be done by the said John Savage, for which we agree to be at equal expence, the said Surveyor delivering to us also an exact Plan or Map of the same and a fair Copy of his Field Notes

W F. W B. C C

The Affidavit of Thomas Harrison shewing when the upper Settlements were made upon the upper Parts of Potomack

Thomas Harrison of the County of Prince William Gent aged Seventy five Years or thereabouts being sworn and Ex-

1736

amin'd Depofeth that he hath lived ever Since he was a Child on the Plantation where he now dwells on Chappawamfick Run, about forty Miles below the Falls of Potowmack, except about three years when he lived at Hunting Creek; that about Sixty three years ago the uppermoft Settlement on Potowmack was no higher than Hunting Creek, which he takes to be about 15 Miles below the Falls, that in the war with the Sufquehanna Indians the People who had feated there were beaten off from their Settlements and obliged to retire lower down the River, that about 50 Years ago Sundry Familys Seated again about Hunting Creek but at that time the Falls of Potowmack were not Known as ever he heard of, But about 36 or 37 years ago when he went up to live at Hunting Creek he had heard People talk of going up thither to fifh, but never heard that any one adventured up fo far as the Falls till about that time the Indians frighting all People from Venturing fo far that he hath heard of the Falls he believes about 50 Years or near that time

This was fworn before me in the prefence of all the Kings
Comiffioners and two of thofe appointed by the Lord
Fairfax the 17th day of June, 1737

W. BYRD

Next follows the Epiftolary Correspondence between the Commissioners on both Sides after they were Seperated from each other, and the firft Letter was from the Kings Commiffioners to thofe of the Lord Fairfax.

December the 16. 1736

Gentlemen

There being little likelihood that the weather will soon allow us the Pleasure of meeting You, we take this opportunity to let you know, that M^r Wood has return'd us his Survey of the Northern Branch of Rappahannock River, which he meafured fairly from Water Edge to Water Edge and not from Bank to

Bank as we have been informed your Surveyor Mr Thomas did, when he Surveyed the South Branch with the Intent, to be sure, to make that appear wider than the North. As this seems to have been an unrighteous Proceeding in that Officer, We Can't persuade ourselves that you gave him any such Orders but that the Artifice was all his own. 1736

We propose to give the necessary Directions for Surveying the Northern Branch of the Little Fork of Rappahannock, that so when the General Map of the Northern Neck comes to be form'd, it may shew among other things how far the King has granted; and we can by no means doubt of your Concurrence in a Matter that will set the present Controversy in the clearest Light. We heartily wish you all the Diversions of the approaching merry Festival and are.

Gentlemen Your most humble Servants

W. BYRD

JOHN ROBINSON

JOHN GRYMES

The Commissioners on the part of the Right Hon^{ble} the Lord Fairfax return'd the following Answer to the foregoing letter.

Feb.^y 5th 1736.

We recev'd your Letter of 16th of December, and shou'd answer'd it some Time ago, if the late very cold Season had not rendered our meeting hitherto impracticable.

We take notice that Mr Wood has deliver'd you his Survey of the North Branch of Rappahannock River, with which you are not satisfied, And desire our Concurrence to survey the North Branch of the little Fork, That as you say it may appear by the General Map how far the Crown has granted.

We think we have Reason also to complain of Artifice used by your Surveyors on the South River, and as we know of

1736

none used by ours, so we believe on the other hand, You gave no Orders to Counterfeit unfair Practices. Thomas the Elder has acquainted us, that after they had measured up to the last Fork of the South Branch, He was of Opinion they ought to proceed up the South Branch of that Fork called Canaway River, but M^r Graeme positively refused, saying that if the said Thomas went up Canaway River, He shou'd bear the Expence, upon which M^r Thomas declin'd and proceeded up the N^o Branch wherefore we must insist upon having the said South Branch called Conaway River also measured up to the Head Spring, as being likewise absolutely necessary, otherwise it will not appear by the General Mapp how far Lord Fairfax claims.

We have therefore order'd Thomas the Elder to measure that Branch and if you think it necessary, that M^r Graeme shou'd assist in doing it, we hope you will please to order him out, so as that it may be done before the Spring. Thomas the Elder has assured us, He never measured the South River but once from Bank to Bank, and then it was to satisfy himself how much broader the Stream cou'd be made by any great Freshes

His Lordship being acquainted with our Consent to your Proposal of having the whole Northern Neck Survey'd, has directed us to move, that the River Rappahannock be survey'd & measured on the South Side thereof to the outermost Banks of which his Lordship also claims

We conceive the execution of our Commission has been now pretty well advanced so as to make another Conference necessary, therefore desire to meet you at Tapahannock in the County of Essex, unless you can recommend a place more suitable to all the Commissioners, and shall be glad to see you as soon as possible, in Order, and in hopes to set all matters right

We are Gentlemen

Your most humble Servants

The Answer of the Kings Commissioners to the foregoing Letter.

April 26. 1737

1737
April.

Gentlemen

Your Letter of 5th of February came to the Hand of one of us, some time ago, but by several Misfortunes it cou'd not be considered by all Three till very lately, for which reason we cou'd not answer it sooner. No body can doubt but the more exact and particular the Map shall be of the Lands in Controversy, the easier will be the Determination upon it, and therefore upon your first application we immediately consented to a Survey of Conaway River, and it is already perform'd. For the same reason we are of Opinion that the Survey of Rappahannock River shou'd be made on the North Side, and as that was our general Sence at the meeting in September last, and the Powers were then made out, upon which the work has in a great Measure been carry'd into Execution, we conceive your present Request that the River Rappahannock be Surveyed and Measured on the South Side thereof, is now out of time and would be attended with great delay as well as Expence: And as the time in which we are required to finish our Report draws near, we hope his Lordship will not insist upon so considerable an Alteration in the Measures which were unanimously agreed on Eight Months ago. We hope the Surveys will be all return'd by the 15th of June, and we shall then be glad to meet you in Williamsburg, where we may be all most conveniently accommodated.

We are

Gentlemen

Y. M. H S.

Two of Lord Fairfaxes Commissioners came to Williamsburgh, to whom the foregoing Letter was deliver'd, and they seem'd to be convinc't of the reasonableness of meeting at

1737
May.

Williamsburgh, not only because we shou'd be near any Record we might happen to want, but also because meeting at Tappahannock would be attended with more Expence, without furnishing proper Conveniences for so many Persons as wou'd have Orders to attend us, Thus tho' these Gentlemen seem'd to acquiesce in our Arguments, yet they altered their Opinion as soon as they saw their Colleague, and soon after wrote us the following Letter

May the 10th 1737

Gentlemen

We have considered yours of the 26 of April, which we find we are to accept as your answer to Ours of the fifth of February; But we cannot agree with you in Opinion, That because you desire to have the Map Exact and particular you consent to a Survey upon Conaway River, and for the same Reason deny your assent, that the Survey of Rappahannock River should be made on the South Side. If we have desired and insisted to have the River Rappahannock Surveyed, has it not been subsequent to your proposal to have the whole Northern Neck plotted, and tho' we consented thereto Eight Monts ago, We did then, and have always thought a Survey of more then the Controverted parts unnecessary, both as to the time and Expence, And we cou'd not well imagine our Request, to have the said River survey'd on the South Side, could with any equitable Reason's be refused; If not appearing to us that such an Alteration was so considerable, as to be attended with any delay or Additional Expence to your said Proposal. We are now sensible that whenever you signify your Pleasure to us, we must not dispute the Justice thereof, and if we offer any motion with undeniable Reasons to support it, no Regard is paid thereto.

We think all the Surveys yet expected may be return'd by the last of this Month, after which time we ought to meet at some convenient Place near the Northern Neck, where the Surveyors and any Person required might attend us at the easiest

Expence, in order to consider of and prepare fit Matter for the general Map and Report, to be finally agreed on and concluded at Williamburgh the fifteenth of June, as you have propos'd, where we shall also gladly agree to meet you, when we can have any assurance, that you will proceed with all becoming Dispatch, as our undivided Powers require, which the little you did towards preparing a Report when last at Williamburgh, gives us cause to mention. We are

1737
June.

Gentlemen Y. M. H. S.

The Answer of the Kings Commissioners to the foregoing Letter

June the 16th 1737

Gentlemen

We shall not answer your Letter in your own polite Terms, but only observe modestly some of the most remarkable Passages of it In the first Place your way of arguing is very notable, you lay it down as a Fundamental Maxim, that you always thought it unnecessary to Survey more than the controverted Parts, yet in the same Breath insist upon having the South Side of Rapahannock Survey'd which is utterly out of Dispute. That River is a certain uncontroverted, Boundary, and therefore to Survey that wou'd be a wantonness of Expence without any Benefit which for that Reason we can't come into. Tis true you say it would be no Additional Charge tho' that is as much above our Apprehension as the use of it wou'd be if it were done.

In the next Place you tell us plainly you find you are not to dispute the Justice of what we propose. This if it have any meaning, is a Severe Reflection & must signify, that our Stile is positive and Dictatorial, & we pay no regard to the weighty reasons you are pleas'd to offer in Support of your Opinions, We conceive an Accusation of this heinous Sort wou'd have been back't with some Instances, if you had any, but as none of

1737 them appear, we must look upon it as a random Shot, intending
 June. only Mischief in general.

We thank you for being so very gracious as to promise us a meeting if you found we had proceeded with all becoming Dispatch. This, besides the Air of Superiority with which it is express'd, is a plain insinuation that we had been guilty of delaying the Business we have the honour to be entrusted with. We absolutely deny the Charge, and at the same time take the Liberty to say, that had the Dispatch been as becoming on your part, as it has been on our's, the Business might have been terminated before this time. You may please to remember how many Months the King's Order to his Governor was withholden before it was deliver'd, whereby the Season for surveying the Bounds in Controversy was lost for that Year. We must also remind you how much time was lost after his Majesty's Commissioners were named, before it was resolv'd what Commissioners to appoint on the Part of my Lord Fairfax, and after all they were not to be trusted with Powers, to determine the dispute, tho' those were the express Terms of His Lordship's Petition to his Majesty.

Another Delay on your side which we must complain of as extremely unfair, was, that after it was Solemnly agreed by the Commissioners on both Sides to Survey all the Countys in the Northern Neck, and the respective Surveyors had orders for that purpose, one of you Gentlemen took upon you by his own Authority to countermand that Order, and direct one of the Surveyors not to proceed.

We are mistaken, if this be proceeding with Decent dispatch and since you make that the Condition necessary to intitle us to the honour of Meeting you, we must call upon you to name one Instance, whereby we have delay'd the Business. Indeed we have not thought proper to obey your Summons to meet you at Places which appear to us not so proper as Williamsburgh.

Upon the whole matter, we think you have made use of Several Expressions in your Letter abovementioned, which are very injurious, we must therefore insist that you'll either make out your Charge, or else by owning your mistake decently acquit

Gentlemen Y M. H. S.

1737
June.

To this Letter we had the following Answer

June the 16 1737

Gentlemen

We have receiv'd your Letter of this Date and have only to say, that we came to Town in hopes of meeting you, to agree on proper measures to execute the purport of our Commission, and not to enter into endless disputes which will unavoidably occasion those delays each of us disclaim. We therefore desire you will please to appoint some time and place to proceed thereon

The Kings Commissioners found by this concise Letter that his Lordships Commissioners wou'd neither make good their Accusations, nor say anything to excuse them, For which reason, we immediately sent the following insisting Letter.

June the 18. 1737

Gentlemen

You have us'd us ill and without a proper Reparation on your part, we shall think ourselves obliged to make the best Representation we can without the Advantage of your Assistance. We are however very desirous to be, if you wou'd vouchsafe to do us Justice

Y. H. S.

After we sent this Letter we heard no more from them but they left the Town without any farther Ceremony. We therefore determined to proceed to make our Report without them, which we cou'd the better do, because the Surveys were all made, and the Facts settled. But as a Foundation of our Re-

1737
June.

port, we order'd M^r Mayo to form the General Mapp out of the particular Ones. But as four of the Surveyors had not return'd the Surveys of their Respective County's in the Northern Neck, (We suppose by the contrivance of some of my Lord's Commissioner's) we sent them the following Letter to quicken their Diligence and to return their Plats out of hand

June 18. 1737

Sir

We are very much Surpris'd that you have not, in almost Nine Months time thought fit to return the Survey that you were order'd to make of your County, by us, with the assent of the Commissioners of the Lord Fairfax.

Your Neglect in this particular, is a very great delay of the Business; and we expect that you immediately transmit to us your Map and Field-Notes pursuant to our Warrant, that a general Map may be form'd.

As this ought to have been done long agoe, we require that without further delay, you will either convey them immediately to one of us by this Messenger, or take care to bring them yourself in a very few days, We are

Y. H. S.

At the same time we sent to the Proprietors Office in the Northern Neck for Sundry papers

June the 18th 1737

Sir

Agreeable to what we mention'd to you this day. We desire you'll be pleas'd to send us from the Lord Proprietors Office attested Copys of two Grants to Phill: Ludwell Esqr: bearing Date about the year 1711. A Copy of the Grant, for Brent Town; and the two uppermost Grants upon Potowmack River made on or before the Year 1688. We are Sir

Sir

Y. M. H. S.

To William Fairfax Esqr

1737
June.

On the Receipt of our Letter the 4 Surveyors abovementioned, thought fit to send us their Surveys very soon with a Letter of Excuse. And we dispatch't their Plats and all the rest to Maj^r Mayo to be form'd into a General Map, with Orders to get it done as soon as possible, & bring it to us at Williamsburgh on the 3^d day of August when the Kings Commissioners appointed to meet in Order to make their Report. M^r Fairfax too was pleas'd to send us the following answer to our Request abovemention'd

June 22^d 1737

Gentlemen

I receiv'd yours of the 18th Instant desiring to be sent you from the Lord Proprietors Office attested Cops of 2 Grants to Philip Ludwell Esqr bearing date about the year 1711 a Copy of the Grant of Brent Town, and the 2 uppermost Grants upon Potowmack River made in or before the year 1688. I have accordingly sent herewith attested Copy's of Col Ludwell's 2 Grants. But that of Brent Town is not in any of the Books of the Office. I have writ to M^r Barradel acquainting him that my Lord some time ago left with Sir John Randolph an attested Copy of that Grant which M^r Barradal is desired to get of M^r Needler, who it is said has the Custody of Sir John's Papers, and to give you a Copy there of, which I presume will answer Your Intention

As to those other Grants upon Potowmack River, the first Book of Registry commences the 29th day of August 1690 when the said Col^o Ludwell was Agent. For I did not receive from Corotomen any Paper or Book relating to any Grant past by his Predecessor Col^o Nicholas Spencer, who was Agent about the Year 1688. If any such Papers be at Corotomen, I have not yet been able to procure them. I am

Gentlemen

Y. M. H. S.

W FAIRFAX

1737

Whether the Proprietors Agents were so careless in those early times as to keep no Records or whether their Successors have lost them, on purpose to hinder those Grants from appearing, which shew how far they took the Proprietors Bounds to extend, is hard to say, but to be sure our correspondent told us the Truth.

Next follows M^r Fairfaxes letter whereby he forbad M^r Ball to proceed in the Survey of his County til farther Notice, not withstanding the positive Order of the Kings Commissioners confirm'd by those of His Lordship

March the 16 1736

Sir

His Lordship being acquainted with the Kings Commissioners Proposal and Order to have the lower Countys of the Northern Neck Survey'd and plotted, has insisted to have the South Shore of Rappahannock included in the Survey, according to his Lordship's claim The Kings Commissioners have been wrote to & their Answer expected. So that you will think proper to Suspend the Execution of their Orders for Surveying till further Notice. M^r Warner and Capt Barber are agreed to wait his Lordship's Commissioners Pleasure herein I am

Sir Your humble Servant

W FAIRFAX

It is therefore evident that M^r Warner and Capt: Barber had also been writ to by the same worthy Gentleman to wait the Pleasure of his Lordships Commissioners, as well as M^r Ball

According to the order of the Virginia Commissioners Maj^r Mayo form'd a very elegant Map of the whole Northern Neck by joining all the particular Survey's together. In this Map were very neatly and very plainly delineated the several Branches of Rappahannock River quite up to their several Sources, together with all the Creeks that flow into the same on either

Side. The River Potowmack was therein likewise traced with great Exactness from the Mouth, up to the Fork a little beyond the Blue Ridge of Mountains, and from thence up the North Branch call'd Cohungoruton—quite away to the Head Springs thereof with all the Waters that discharge themselves into it. And the Distance Cohungoruton runs from its Confluence with Sharando, is according to the Meanders thereof 206 Miles to its Foundation From the Hills out of which this River arises, may be seen other Waters which run Westward, and may be the Springs of one of the Branches of Mississipi, probably that commonly called Allegany. In this Map the Courses of Sharando are not described, but just where it parts with Cohungoruton, by reason such Description cou'd give no light to the Controversy betwixt His Majesty and the Lord Fairfax.

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And here I think I ought to do Justice not only to the uncommon Skill, but also to the Courage and Indefatigable Industry of Maj^r Mayo and two of the other Surveyors, employ'd in this long and difficult Task, Neither the unexpected Distance, nor the Danger of being doubly Starved by Hunger and excessive Cold, could in the least discourage them from going thro' with Their Work, tho' at one time they were almost reduced to the hard necessity of cutting up the most useless Person among them, M^r Savage, in order to Support and save the lives of the rest. But Providence prevented that dreadful Blow by an unexpected Supply another way, and so the Blind Surveyor escaped.

On the 3^d day of August the King's Commissioners met at Williams burgh according to their Appointment, in Order to draw up their Report. And that they might do this part of their duty with the more Exactness Maj^r Mayo attended at the same time with his Map, with which they were exceedingly Satisfy'd, the same being a masterly performance.

Great Pains were taken to make this Report with all the

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August. Justice imaginable, both to his Majesty and the Lord Fairfax, And altho' the King's Commissioners drew it up without the Assistance of those on the part of his Lordship, who modell'd a Report of their own, yet they endeavour'd to do it with all farness to both Partys: Nor did they represent any thing therein, but what depended upon plain Facts, or might be very righteously deduc'd from them, All this appears by the Report it self, which was in the Terms following,

To the Hon^{ble} William Gooch Esq, His Majestys Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Cheif of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia

The Underwritten Commissioners appointed by your Honour in Obedience to the Order of his Majesty in his Privy Council of the 29th of November 1733 for Surveying and settling the Boundaries of that Tract or Territory of Land granted by the Crown to the Ancestors of the Right Honourable Thomas Lord Fairfax and under whom his Lordship now claims, Do humbly beg Leave to lay before your Honour the following Report of their Proceedings and the Reasons why they have not been able finally to determine the said Boundaries according to his Majestys royal Intentions.

After we had the Honour to be named Commissioners on the part of His Majesty, the Lord Fairfax by Mr Barradall his Agent signified to your Honour in Council, that if the King's Commissioners were Members of the Council, His Lordship was contented that the same Commissioners shou'd likewise Act in his behalf, without appointing any distinct Commissioners of his Own. This induced us to wait on his Lordship with our Commission from your Honour, to know whether His Lordship wou'd be pleas'd to give us powers to Act for him conformable to his Majesty's Order, But we soon found His Lordship had alter'd his mind and now declar'd that he would not Submit the

Determination of his right to any person in this Country, nor give any other Powers than barely to Survey the several Boundaries claim'd by him, and to report the Facts and circumstances examined into, to be laid before His Majesty, and soon after tender'd us his Commission for that purpose; This being contrary to his Lordships Petition and the King's Order thereupon, We judged it unbecoming us to receive any Powers so different to those from His Majesty: and for that Reason return'd it to Him

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His Lordship therefore thought fit to appoint three Commissioners on his own part, namely Charles Carter, William Beverly & William Fairfax Esquires

These Gentlemen we met at Fredericks burg near the Head of Rappahannock River on the 25th of September 1736 And after the Commissions on each Side had been produc'd and read, We observed that his Lordships Commissioners had no Authority given them to determine any thing concerning his Lordship's Bounds. We made the proper Objections thereto as being inconsistent with his Majesty's Order. But were answer'd that His Lordship would by no means leave the Decision of the Controversy to any Commissioners whatsoever: When we understood this, we found Ourselves under a Necessity either to return Home without doing any thing, whereby His Majesty's gracious purpose would have been wholly disappointed, or else by the Latitude which our Commission gave us to drive the Nail that wou'd go, and join with them in obtaining a full and faithfull State of the Facts in Order to be laid before His Majesty, Thus far we yielded to Act in Conjunction with the Lord Fairfaxes Commissioners, altho' they were not required by thier Commissions to act in Conjunction with us.

After this, We desired to know of my Lords Commissioners what they demanded in his Lordships Name as the Bounds of his grant? To which they answer'd, that he claimed all the

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Land contain'd within the South Branch of Rappahannock River, and the main branch of Potowmack as high as the head Springs thereof. This extensive demand we apprehended would include many of the Kings Loyal Subjects, who at a great Expence have seated themselves within those Bounds under Grants from His Majesty and his Royal Predecessors.

However, that the matter might be fully and fairly Stated, and his Lordship no longer delayed, It was agreed upon our Proposal, that the whole Territory claimed by his Lordship should be Survey'd, that so, the extent of his claim might the more fully appear. And that in performing this Service, and in executing the other parts of our Commission, his Lordship shou'd bear one moiety of the Expence.

Then in Conjunction with my Lords Commissioners We directed the main Branch of Potowmack River called Cohaun- gorooton to be Survey'd to the head Spring thereof, and appointed Mr Mayo and Mr Brookes whom we thought Equal to difficult Service on the part of His Majesty; To these were join'd Mr Winflow and Mr Savage for the Lord Fairfax These being all first sworn, were order'd by thier Several Warrants to begin at the Confluence of that River with Sharando, and from thence to run the Courses, and Measure the Distances thereof to its first Spring; And of all this to return an Exact Plat, shewing all the Streams runing into the same on either side, together with a fair Copy of their Feild-Notes. We also directed them to take the Latitude, and observe particularly where the said River intersects the 40th Degree

And to enable them to perform this arduous Work, We allotted them a Suffecient Number of Men for their Assistance and Defence, and a Competent Quantity of Provision for their Subsistence

When these Surveyors were dispatch't, who had the most difficult Service to perform, We appointed Mr Græme to survey

and measure the South Branch of Rappahannock, 'now call'd the Rappidan from the fork to the Head Spring And, Mr Wood to survey and Measure the North Branch, call'd Rappahannock, in like manner, requiring them severally to return us an exact plat describing all the Streams or Water Courses falling into each River, together with a fair Copy of their feild-Notes: and also to take an Observation of the Latitude at the head Springs of each River. My Lord Fairfaxes Commissioners appointed Mr Thomas the elder to proceed with Mr Græme and Thomas the Younger with Mr Wood. We at the same time made out Powers to the Surveyor of the Several Countys in the Northern Neck, requiring them to survey and measure the boundaries of the Several Countys joining on the Rivers Rappannock & Potowmack & the Bay of Cheasepeak

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After these matters were dispatch't, the Commissioners on both Sides proceeded with the four Surveyors up the Fork of Rappahannock River & causing each Branch to be measured, they found the North Branch to be widest by three Poles and Nine Links; but indeed the South Branch may be allow'd to be one Pole broader than our Measure made it, by reason that a small Stream of that breadth issued from it at some distance above, and form'd an Island on the South Shoar

The Depositions of John Talliaferro, Francis Thornton, and William Ruffel were taken in the presence of the Commissioners on both Sides; And then having directed the several Surveyors to proceed with all Diligence upon the Services appointed them. We parted with the Lord Fairfaxes Commissioners, it being agreed on both Sides, that until the Surveyors shou'd have made their returns, nothing farther cou'd be done in this Affair

In pursuance of the Orders aforementioned the Several Surveyors proceeded to survey the several Rivers, And after encountering many difficultys have returned to us exact Plats of their Work, with Copys of their Field Notes whereby to

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prove the truth of their performances, All which we immediately directed Mr Mayo to join in one General Map, and the same being now compleated in a Masterly Manner, We beg Leave to make our Observations upon it: And moreover to State all the Evidence we have been able to procure relating to the Bounds in Dispute

All this, We think ourselves oblig'd to do Separately, and not in Conjunction with his Lordships Commissioners for the following Reasons,

1st Because his Lordships Commissioners are not directed by their Commission to make their Report in Conjunction with those of his Majesty And therefore as those Gentlemen are at Liberty to make their Report Separately there is great Reason we shou'd be so likewise

2nd Because when we desired them to join with us in naming a fit person to form the general Map, they refused, and declared they wou'd have a distinct Map drawn by their own Surveyors: If then we cou'd not agree in forming the Map which was to be the foundation of the Report, we cou'd have little hopes to agree in the Report itself.

As the Lord Fairfax's claim of all the Lands lying between the Northern and Southern Branches of Rappahannock River has greatly alarmed the Inhabitants of the Fork, and may very much Affect their property, We shall in the first place State all the Facts and Evidence relating to that Affair

We cannot find by any Evidence that the Fork of Rappahannock River had been at all discover'd at the time that the Lord CoLepepper obtained his Grant, But on the contrary from the Evidence of John Talliaferro, Francis Thornton, & William Russell it appears that in the year 1707, there were no Inhabitants on either side the River so high up as the falls thereof, which is about fourteen miles below the Fork. William Russell, who is an Old Man, and was produc't by the Lord

Fairfax, says, he discover'd the Fork about thirty five Years ago, as he was hunting, And Mr Thornton about twenty Seven Years ago, But these circumstances are much posterior to his Lordship's Grant. 1737
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From the Surveys return'd to us, We cannot say which of these Branches is the Largest, only by the measure we made the North Branch was found to be widest at the mouth; But from the Face of the Map, it evidently appears, that the North Branch has more & Larger Streams falling into it which must occasion a greater Run of Water, That it lyes in a more direct Course with the main River: And that its head Spring lyes farther from the Fork than any Spring belonging to the South Branch

As the Lord Fairfax has produc'd to us no Evidence to support his pretensions to the Southern Branch; We shall humbly offer the proofs in behalf of His Majesty for restraining his Bounds to the North Branch in case it shall be allowed that his Lordship has a right to go beyond the Fork of the River

The North Branch has from the first discovery of it, been called by the name of Rappahannock in all publick Writings; Whereas the South Branch about 20 years ago, by way of distinction, obtained the name of Rapidan; It has been a settled Boundary to the Countys in the Northern Neck, and if the sentiments of the Legislature of this Colony ought to have any upweight it is Evident, the General Assembly were of Opinion, that the North Branch was the true boundary of the Proprietors Grant, For in the year 1720, An Act of Assembly passed for erecting the County of Spotsylvania, which County is particularly bounded on the North by the River Rappahannock, That is by the branch which before was made the boundary of the County of King George, and is the North Branch: And for the encouragement of settling that Frontier, the General Assembly the same Year did address his Late Majesty to exempt the

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August. Persons coming to settle there, from the purchasing Rights, and payment, of Quit-Rents for all the Lands which shou'd be taken in that County: Which Priviledges and advantages His said late Majesty was graciously pleas'd to grant under some Restrictions, And upon this Encouragement it was, that all that Tract of Land between the River Rappidan, and that call'd Rappahannock have been seated, cultivated and improved, to the great Benefit and general Security of the Colony, as well as the Encouragement of People to seat and Cultivate the Lands lying contiguous on the North side Rappahannock River to the encrease of his Lordship's Quit rents

The Lord CoLepepper who was the Original Patentee, made a Grant to Brent and others dated the tenth day of January 1686 of a large Tract of Land to be laid off in such a Manner as not to come within six miles of the Rivers Rappahannock or Potowmack, accordingly that Distance was observ'd from the North Branch, which seems to be a Confession that it was taken by the Patentee himself from the beginning to be the main Branch of Rappahannock

The first Patent in the Fork of Rappahannock was granted by Governor Nott in the year 1705 and and altho' in the year 1706 Robert Carter Esq^r who was then Agent for the Proprietors of the Northern Neck, began to contest the right to the Lands in the Fork of Rappahannock, Yet some Years afterwards he himself was so far convinc'd, that the Proprietors could claim no further than the North Branch, that he took Patents from the Crown for two Tracts of Land in that very Fork which the Lord Fairfax wou'd now claim as his, And in the Several Grants of the Proprietors Lands made by him which bounded on the North Branch, he calls it the main Run of Rappahannock River as will appear by two Grants made to Philip Ludwell Esq^r

These last mention'd Grants, we must observe, were pass'd

in the Proprietors Office, where the Grantor cou'd have call'd that Branch by what name he pleas'd, and no doubt, he took care to call it by the right Name. The last instance We shall give, is, that when the aforesaid Robert Carter Esq^r had the Honour to be Commander in Cheif of this Colony, upon the Death of Governor Drysdale in the year 1726 Altho' he was then Agent for the Proprietor, he granted Land in the King's Name in the Little Fork as will appear by the Copy of Willis's Patent

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Thus, Sir, having stated the Facts relating to the River Rapahannock, We shall go on to those which relate to the River Potowmack, by the Deposition of M^r Thomas Harrison, it appears, that about fifty Years ago, which is pretty near the time the Lord CoLepper obtained his Grant from King James the Second, there were no settlements made upon that River higher than Hunting Creek: And that at that time he knew nothing of the Falls of that River himself, But he beleives he might have heard of them from the Hunters about that time

The Lands at and near the Falls, were not granted till about the year 1709, nor can we find by any Evidence, that it was so much as known that the River ran thro' the great Ridge of Mountains till several Years after that

By the Map, you may please to observe, that the River Potowmack divides itself into two Branches, just beyond the blue Mountains, there the main River loses its name, and the North Branch, which is much the larger, is call'd by the Indians Cohungorooton, and the other Sharando, as therefore the name of Potowmack ceases at this Confluence, and the Branches into which its Waters are divided have quite other Names, The Fork may not improperly be called the head thereof.

In the Year 1730 a Good Number of foreign Protestants were encouraged by the Government to settle beyond the Mountains, in order to strengthen our Frontiers on that Side; And

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August. they discover'd some distance up each of the aforementioned branches, But none of these discoveries very far, till the Surveyor sent out by us the last Fall, trac'd the River Cohungorootun quite up to the Head Spring, which he found according to the Meanders thereof to be above two hundred Miles from its confluence with Sharando

It is evident from the Map, that the whole distance of this River stretches beyond the great Ridge whereas the head Springs of Rappahannock reaches no higher than those Mountains, We therefore humbly conceive it cou'd never be the Intention of the late King James the Second to bound the Territory granted to the Lord CoLepepper by two Streams, one of which runs more than two hundred Miles higher than the other.

This, Sir, is a full and fair State of the Case, and the Observations we have made thereupon, we hope will be thought very just, and as the Grant to the Lord CoLepepper seems to have been made much in the dark, it required to have all the Facts Stated as distinctly as possible; that those whose Province it may be to decide the dispute, may pronounce such Sentence thereupon as will be most agreeable to Justice and Reason

All we shall presume to say farther is, that if it shall be thought just to bound the Lord Fairfax's claim by a Line drawn from the Fork of Rappahannock to the Fork of Potowmack, his Territory will then contain at least one Million four hundred and seventy six thousand Acres of Land

If the Line be drawn from the head of Hedgman River to the Fork of Potowmack his Lordship will then possess two Millions and thirty three thousand Acres.

And in case his Boundary shall be allow'd to run from the Head of Hedgman River to the head Spring of Cohungorootun, then his Grant will contain three Millions eight hundred seventy two thousand Acres

But if his Lordship be allow'd to extend his Boundary from

the head of Conway River to the Head Spring of Cohungo-
rootun, including the great and little Fork of Rappahannock, ¹⁷³⁷
he will then have at least five Millions two hundred eighty two ^{August.}
thousand Acres within his Grant, which is about as much Land
as at present pays Quit rents to his Majesty in all the rest of
Virginia

But if his Lordship shou'd after all be so fortunate as to have
these extensive bounds adjudg'd to him, We humbly beg that
your Honour will be pleased to recommend to His Majesty the
Case of all those persons who by Patents from His Majesty and
his Royal Predecessors, are Possessed of Lands within those
Bounds

Thus, Sir, We have proceeded with all Diligence and Fidelity,
as far as we have been able, by reason the Lord Fairfax wou'd
not empower his Commissioners to join with us in deciding and
settling his Bounds But we shall be always ready to obey such
further command as your Honour shall hereafter receive from
his Majesty relating to this Affair

All which is most humbly submitted by

Sir Your Honours most humble Servants

W. BYRD

JOHN ROBINSON

JOHN GRYMES

Williamsburgh

August 10th 1737

The King's Commissioners having order'd Duplicates of their
Report as well as of the Map, to be made, presented them to
the Governour in order to their being transmitted to His Ma-
jesty by the first Opportunity. In the mean time the Govern-
our sent a Copy of this Report to my Lord Fairfax, not doubting
but his Lordship wou'd in return favour Him with a Copy of
the Report returned by his Commissioners, But that, it seems,
was too great a Secret to be trusted with any one, that could

1739 judge of the unfair Turns that were given to several Matters
 July. therein.

The Lord Fairfax soon after embark't for England, carrying over with Him the Report of his own Commissioners, and the Copy that had been sent Him of those on the part of the King, Thus arm'd, & being on the Spot Himself, his Lordship had a great Advantage, He was able to push his Interest both with the Members of his Majesty's Privy Council, and those of the Council of Trade, However his Lordship having formerly withstood the Ministry in the Elections for the County of Kent, his Affair moved very heavily, or rather mov'd not at all, till the 12th of January 1738 when he obtained a reference to the Lords of Trade, for them to examine the whole matter, and report a full State of the Case, together with their Opinion thereupon to the Lords of the Committee of Council. Accordingly their Lordships maturely considered both Reports, to gether with all the Papers transmitted from Virginia, and having heard Council both for His Majesty; and the Lord Fairfax as to matters of Law, they were pleased on the 27th of July to return the following Report

To the Right Hon^{ble} the Lords of the Committee of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council

My Lords

Pursuant to your Lordships Order of the 12th of January, We have had under our Consideration the two Reports of the Commissioners appointed in Behalf of the Crown and the Lord Fairfax, in relation to his Lordships claim of a large Tract of Land Situate in Virginia to gether with the Several Papers annexed to the said Reports whereupon we take Leave to acquaint your Lordships.

That there were three several Grants from the Crown of this Tract of Land to the Earl of St Albans, the Lord Culpepper and others

The first Grant was made at St Germaine en Laye in the first year of the Reign of King Charles the Second, This never came to our Hands, but is recited in that of a subsequent Date

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The Second was made in the 21st Year of the said King's Reign & describes the Land in the following Words

“All that intire Tract Territory or Parcell of Land lying
“and being in Virginia in America and bounded by and within
“the head of the Rivers Tappahannock alias Rappahannock
“and Quiriough or Potowmack Rivers the courses of the said
“Rivers as they are commonly called & known by the Inhabit-
“ants and the Descriptions of those parts and Chesapayock Bay
“together with the Rivers themselves & all the Islands within
“the Banks of these Rivers & all the Woods &c” And far
Covenants upon application to be made to enlarge and confirm
these Letters Patents by granting New Ones with such Conces-
sions and Grants as may supply any Defects herein contained

The 3^d was made in the 4th year of King James the Second to, the Lord Culpepper who had become sole proprietor of the said Tract of Land (by a purchase made thereof) which it describes thus: “All that entire Tract Territory or Parcell of Land
“Situate lying & being in Virginia in America and bounded by
“& within the first heads or Springs of the Rivers Tapahannock
“alias Rappahannock & Quiriough alias Patowmack Rivers, the
“Courses of the said Rivers from their said first heads or Springs
“as they are commonly call'd or known by the Inhabitants &
“Descriptions of those parts & the Bay of Chesapayock together
“with the said Rivers themselves & all the Islands within the
“uttermoſt Banks thereof and the Soil of all and Singular the
“Premises and all Lands Woods Underwoods Timber & Trees.
“Ways Mountains &c” It repeals a Proviso mention'd in the
2nd Grant in relation to the said Lands being to be settled within

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a certain Term of Years & discharges the Lord Culpepper from any Arrear of the Rent to the Date thereof

It appears that Thomas Lord Culpepper in the Year 1686 made a Grant of part of the Premises to M^r Brent & others of Thirty Thousand Acres in or near the County of Stafford between the Courses of Rappahannock and Patowmack

In 1705, a Dispute arose between the Crown and the late Lord Fairfax who claimed under Lord Culpepper concerning the Boundaries intended by the abovemention'd Patents in Particular Whether the North or South Branch of the River Rappahannock shou'd be understood to be the Boundary on that side, Whereupon in May 1706, the Governour & Council of Virginia issued an Order "directing certain persons on behalf " of the Crown to meet others on that of the Proprietors to " view and survey the Branches of the said River and to make " their Report to the next General Court and that in the mean " time no Patent shoud issue for any Land lying in the Fork of " the said River either from the Governor or the Proprietors." This Report was return'd the 28th of September 1706, by the Commissions on both sides jointly who say "That by what " appears to them they cannot discover which is the largest " Stream but that they seem to them to be of equal Magnitude.

In 1733, this Dispute was revived and the present Lord Fairfax having been informed that Several Grants had been made of Lands which he apprehended to be within his Boundary he Apply'd to his Majesty in Council and obtained an Order to the Lieutenant Governor of Virginia "To nominate three or " more Commissioners (not exceeding five) who in Conjunction " with alike Number to be named and deputed by the Lord " Fairfax are to survey and settle the Marks & Boundaries of " the said District of Land agreeable to the Terms of the patents under which the Lord Fairfax claims within the Space

“ of two Years after the Arrival of this Order and that the 1739
“ Lieutenant Governor do not presume to make any Grants of July.
“ Lands within the abovementioned Tract

It does not appear that this Order tho' obtained in 1733 was notify'd to Maj^r Gooch the Lieutenant Governor till the Year 1735 during which time Grants were made by the Lieutenant Governor of about 300,000 Acres of Land in that District

In 1735 Lord Fairfax went to Virginia with the said Order and having presented it to the Lieutenant Governor a Commission was Issued by Him to William Byrd John Robinson & John Grymes Dated the 7th September 1736, “To Examine Settle & determine all Matters & things touching & concerning the Several Boundaries according to the true Intent & meaning & genuine Sense & Construction of the Several Letters Patent granted for the Said Tract & Territory

The Lord Fairfax gave also a Commission to the same persons dated the 9th of the same Month “To make or Cause to be made any Survey or Surveys they shall think proper for the discovery of the first Heads or Springs of the Rivers Rappahannock and Potowmack & other the Boundaries of the aforesaid Grants and to make a full and exact Report of all the matters of fact and other their proceedings Specially to the Governour and Commander in Chief of Virginia in Order to be laid before his Majesty for his Determination

This Commission being Different from that granted by the Lieut. Governour the persons therein named declined to Act under it, Whereupon the Lord Fairfax four Days after granted a New One to Charles Carter William Beverly and William Fairfax Esq^{rs} with power to survey & Report only till such time as his Majesty shall have given his Determination upon the said Boundaries

After some dispute between the Commissioners for the Crown & those for Lord Fairfax in relation to the different wording of

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their Powers they proceeded on their Survey but not being able to Agree upon a Joint Report made Seperate Returns each of them accompany'd with a Map describing the Courses of the Two Rivers and the Outmost Lines of the intermediate Land which Maps are hereunto annex

We shall now take Notice of the principal Matters contain'd in their different Reports to gether with the proofs and Grounds upon which they proceeded

The Commissioners appointed by the Lieutenant Governor of Virginia in behalf of the Crown in their Report say

"That they took their Survey of the main Branch of Potowmack (called Cohungorooton) from its confluence with Sharando, and so upwards beyond the blue Mountains to its first Spring head, and of the River Rappahannock from its fork pursuing both North & South Branch to the Spring head likewise & found the North Branch to be wider at the Mouth than the South by 3 Poles 9 Links, That they can find no Evidence that the Fork of Rappahannock was known at the time of Lord Culpepper's Grant That the Lord Fairfax has provided no Evidence to Support his Pretentions to the South Branch" But they the said Commissioners Offer some in support of his Majesty's which are chiefly Arguments Inferences and Deductions drawn partly from the Sense of the Legislature in Virginia and partly from Grants of the Crown They then pursue their Account of the River Potowmack and refer to the Deposition of Thomas Harrifon taken upon Oath before them "That the falls of Potowmack were not known 50 Years ago" They farther say "That the Lands at or near the Falls were not granted till 1709, and that it was not known that the River runs thro' the Mountains till Several Years after, That the River loses its Name at the Confluence and is called by the Indians as it goes up higher Cohungorooton & Sharando" And conclude "That the Fork may not improperly

“be call'd the head” which Opinion they endeavor to corroborate by saying “That as the head of Potowmack stretches beyond the blue Mountains, and that of Rappahannock reaches no higher than those Mountains they could not be intended as Boundaries by the Grant of King James since the one reaches above 200 miles above the other”

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They conclude their Report by Stating four Several Boundaries for the Lord Fairfaxes Grant, and mention what Quantity of Land each of those Boundaries contains

“The first from the Fork of Rappahannock to the Fork of Potowmack containing 1476,000, Acres of Land

“The Second from the head of Hedgman River to the Fork of Potowmack containing 2033,000 Acres of Land

“The third from the head of Hedgman River to the head Spring of Cohungorooton containing 3872,000 Acres of Land

“And the fourth from the head of Conway River to the head Spring of Cohungorouton including the Great & little Fork of Rappahannock containing 5,282,000 Acres of Land

The Papers refer'd to in their Report are

- 1 The Governors Commission to them which was to examine Settle & Determine.
- 2 Lord Fairfax to them which was only to Survey and Report.
- 3 Lord Fairfax's Commission to Mess^{rs} Carter Beverly & Fairfax which was to Survey & Report only.
- 4 Depositions taken upon Oath of John Talliaferro, Francis Thornton, & W^m Ruffel who severally declare there were no Inhabitants on either side of the River so high as the Falls even so late as the Year 1707.
- 5 A General Map of the Delineations of the Courses of the Rivers from the parts where they began their Survey up to their respective Spring heads
- 6 A Copy a Grant from Lord Culpepper to M^r Brent and others in 1686 of Land to be laid out Six Miles distant at least from

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the Main Rivers of Rappahannock & Patowmack which being laid down in their Map as taking its distance from the North Stream they Quote it to shew that the Original Patentee always understood the North Branch to be the Main Branch

- 7 Governor Notts Grant to Henry Beverly Esq^r of 1920 Acres in Effex County ten Miles above the Falls of Rappahannock in November 1705.
- 8 Two Grants from the Governour to Robert Carter Esq^r for Land in the Fork of Rappahannock 12 Miles and more above the Falls in January 1717.
- 9 Two Grants to Philip Ludwell Esq^r from Lady Culpepper of 5860 Acres above the Falls in June 1709.
- 10 Henry Willis's Patent for 3000 Acres of Land in the Little Fork of Rappahannock from Governour Carter in February 1726
- 11 The Deposition of Thomas Harrison who declares upon Oath that the Falls of Potowmack were not known fifty Years ago Dated in June 1737
- 12 Letters Patents from King Charles the Second to the Earl of St Albans and others
- 13 Letters Patents from King James the Second to Lord Culpepper

The Commissioners for the Lord Fairfax in their Report give an Account

(That) the Dispute between the Crown and Lord Fairfax being which is the Main River of Rappahannock the North or South Branch as appears by the Order of the Governor & Council of Virginia in 1706, to which they refer as also which is the first head or Spring of Powtowmack) they have Survey'd and measured up the River Potowmack from the Mouth of Sharando and that of Rappahannock from the Falls to their Respective Heads or Springs, And are of Opinion that a Line

run from the first head of Spring of the South or Main Branch of Rappahannock to the first head or Spring of the River Powtowmack is and ought to be the Boundary Line determining the said Tract or Territory of Land commonly call'd the Northern Neck They refer themselves to the Evidences produced by the King's Commissioners (quoted in the other Report) that the two Branches of Rappahannock were always called the North and South Rivers or the North and South Fork and that the name of Rapidan was given to this latter by Colonel Spotswood when Governor as also to a Declaration of One M^r John Talliaferro that the Heads or Springs of the said two Branches were known in 1682, And to their own Surveyors Report in proof that the South Branch was the widest They say their own Surveyor made a mistake in going up Conway instead of Thornton River which they have caused to be dotted in token of the Lord Fairfax's claiming it

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The Papers referred to in the above Report are

- 1 The Order of the Governour and Council of Virginia in 1706, directing a Survey to be made of the Two Branches of Rappahannock to see which was the Main Branch, This Order is referred to by the Lord Fairfax's Commissioners to Obviate the Objections made of the Forks never having been claimed by the Proprietors or their Agents
- 2 The Evidences produced by the King's Commissioners of which we have already given your Lordships an Account
- 3 A. Declaration of John Talliaferro This Declaration is annexed to the abovementioned Order in 1706 and is only a Copy and not upon Oath It contains that about 24 Years ago he in Company with Col^o Cadwallader Jones had been at the Heads or Springs of the said Two Branches and that in his Judgment and that of the Company with him the South Branch was the Biggest & headed into the Mountains.

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- 4 The Surveyors Report which ascertains that the South Stream was 21 Miles longer than the other

We having likewise on this Occasion been attended by Council & having heard M^r Attorney and M^r Solicitor General on behalf of the Crown & M^r Brown and M^r Murray for the Lord Fairfax We shall give your Lordships a Brief Account of the Principal Points insisted upon by both Sides

The Council for the Lord Fairfax opened with an Account of the three Grants and insisted strongly that the last being an enlarging Grant made with a View of Supplying any defects contain'd in the former and haveing these remarkable Expressions the first heads or Springs of the said Rivers could leave no Room to doubt of his Lordships Right as there cou'd be but one first Head or Spring of a River, That the two Branches of Rappahannock having till 20 Years ago been allways called and known by the Names of the North and South Stream of Rappahannock form but one and the same River. That Rivers not running Parallel may nevertheless be Boundarys. That the Extensiveness of his Lordship's Grant can be no Reason against it if the Title is properly made out as they conceived it was by the Description of the Words of the Patent. That neither the Falls of Powtowmack, nor its confluence with Sharando can be called the first Head or Spring being both Currents or running Streams That the Land on the other side Viz^t Maryland is bounded by the same River which is in all Writings called Powtowmack. That there is no Evidence to Support the Assertion that this River loses its Name and is called Cohongorouton. That the Lord Culpepper so long ago as 1686, made a Grant himself to Brent and others (as is beforementioned) and that Lord Fairfax contested the first Grant made by the Crown in 1705, within this District

On behalf of the Crown It was insisted that it cou'd not be supposed that the Letters Patents intended an indefinite Grant

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That there was a difference in the two Commissions granted by the Lieutenant Governor and the Lord Fairfax to the persons employed in this Disquisition The Governor's Commission seeming to exceed, and the Lord Fairfax's to fall something short of the Words in the Order of Council tho' in all probability no Decision of this Matter in Virginia Cou'd have been final till it shou'd have received his Majesty's Determination

That notwithstanding this Difference in their Commissions both parties proceeded upon their Survey & the Maps returned by them respectively to this Board do Agree almost in every particular as to the Course of the said Rivers as well in those parts which are disputed as in those where there is no Contest except only that Lord Fairfax's Commissioners have added a small River on theirs towards the head Spring of the South Branch of the Rappahannock which my Lord's Council have agreed to give up and to found no claim upon the Course of the little River so added

The first Grant made within the Tract contended for which has been laid before us was by the Lord Culpepper to Brent and others in the Year 1686, which was two years preceeding the last Patent and that the first Grant made by the Government of Virginia to Mr Henry Beverly referred to above was not till the Year 1705 which gave rise to a Dispute between the Patentee and the Government of Virginia and occasioned the Survey of the two Branches of the Rappahanock River in order to know whether the North or South Branch was the larger and consequently which of those two Branches should be the Boundary of the Proprietors Grant

We find no Instance after this of any Grant made by the Government of Virginia till the Year 1717, to Mr Carter but we find two Grants from Lady Culpepper in 1709. to Philip Ludwell Esq^r

There have also been some Grants made by the Government

of Virginia in the Year 1717, 1718 & 1726 & also great Numbers of Grants & Surveys for Grants since the Date of his Majesty's Order in Council

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Upon the whole it appears to Us that the Dispute between the Crown & Lord Fairfax turns chiefly upon the Construction of the Words of the Patent upon which We have already Reported what was said by the Council on both Sides and shall submit that entirely to your Lordships Determination But whatever Boundary his Majesty shall fix to the Lord Fairfax's Grant We would recommend to your Lordship's humbly to advise his Majesty that he would be graciously pleased to Direct the Persons already seated in that District by Grants from the Government of Virginia may not be disturbed or molested—
We are

My Lords

Your Lordship's

most obedient & most

humble Servants

MONSON

M BLADEN

T. PELHAM

R. PLUMER

Whitehall }
July 27, 1739 }





AN ESSAY
ON
BULK TOBACCO.

LONDON, APRIL 15TH, 1692.

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HAVING once more made an attempt about Bulke, to get it recommended to Virginia and Maryland; and on this foot that it may be more gratefull to have the Remedy in your own hands, than in any other. We should hardly give ourselves the Trouble, did we not see the absolute necessity of some measures about it to be taken: or else all fair Trade must cease; The Evils that attend the present practise are intollerable to trade, and greatly prejudicial to the Government and Navigation. What general Reasons are offered, you will receive hereafter, We shall only at this time give you the trouble to debate the Justice of such Prohibition on account of Trade, And in order to it would observe what is commonly objected against it, And so leave it to any impartial Man's Judgement, that hath had any experience in Trade to determine the Case

As to the Detriment to Trade, we shall not look back many

years, leaft it may be fupposed that we can't exactly remember what happen'd at fuch a diftance of time, tho' this Evil dwells too much in all our memories

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Bulke Tobacco hath the two laft Years in this Port of London, been not lefs than one penny p pound lofs to the Trade in general to all that have in Hogfheads paid freight and Custom, in that it hath been fold $1\frac{1}{2}^d$ p lb cheaper than fuch paying honeftly their juft dues could afford it: By which means all middling Tobacco hath been contemptible, for in the Room of fuch Bulke was acceptable, if not more on fome Accounts in refpect that it was dryer, as well as cheaper. So that by this means all fuch who give Life to Trade by their Adventures, whether Merchant or Planter, muft be content to fit ftill while fuch Bulke is fold and confumed at mean rates, before they can fell, and then they have a Market fixed upon them by fuch as pay no freight, or at leaft next to none: and by many ways gain out of the Publick, which no Merchant or Planter can be capable of doing: To give only one Instance that is juft now before us; Some have fold Bulke Tobacco at $1\frac{1}{2}^d$ & 2^d at the maft, which hath been fold at $6\frac{1}{2}^d$ p lb by the buyer here, which is really to fell for lefs than nothing by any that fairly pays freight & Custom; and by this means at this day Tobacco is at one penny p lb lower than in all reafon it would have been, had not the Importation of Bulke brought it down, and this is aggravated to the fair Trader, becaufe all men are not able to bear an equal weight in Trade: fo fome will be forced to Submit to fell off at the low price which the dealers in Bulk have fet, to the intire ruin of the Market, To prove this is not difficult, becaufe very confiderable Quantities of Sweet Tobacco hath been fold at $7\frac{3}{4}^d$ & $7\frac{1}{2}$ in intire parcels, and for no other reafon but becaufe bulk Tobacco foreftalled the Market at a Shameful price, And Trade being thus broken, its not poffible to fupport it. So that whatfoever may be fupposed to

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be gain'd, by the buying Bulk Tobacco of the Planter, is ten times more loss in the Mischievous consequences of it to the general Market, For tho' its true some Tobacco that is peculiarly choice & good (which is not the tenth part of what is imported) yeilds more than the rest, yet in the Calculation good is concerned more eminently, as being the Bulk of Trade for if we consider the Merchant or Planter Adventurer, they are both one, if they be eat up by any injustice of Trade, it doth certainly at last fall on the poor planter; for suppose any one buys 100 Hhds (a thing so often happens) and makes nothing of them, can it be imagin'd but the next Occasion will be to run down the Planter; it will be so inevitably. But on the other hand can it be possible trade can give any encouragement and the Planter be ignorant of it; or did he ever in that kind fail in Sharing in the Advantage of it, it is methinks without Prefident, Now it hence follows by plain reason, and repeated experience, that the greatest dishonour Trade of late hath had as to the Merchantable Part is this encroaching fraud of Bulk, which of late Years is become exorbitant. We have this last Year past had some essay as to Bulk (not to approve it) but to keep it out of worse hands by which we find the little Value it amounts to, to an honest Trader, Our Experience runs thus; First it wastes 27 to 30 & 32 p cent, which is near $\frac{1}{3}$ part, Secondly it is hereby called Bulk, & is $\frac{3}{4}$ p lb less in Value, and some 1^d or thereabouts as it is in kind, or well done Now it is easy to guess the advantage, when $\frac{1}{3}$ is lost, and the price so abated; what may be got must be saved by not paying freight, & the tricking the King's Duty, which can never fall in the poor Planters way or Merchants, they must pay the extremity to support those horrible unreasonable and unjust methods in others

2 But then its objected by some that this Prohibition would cut out some small ships that come there, granting that true, where is either the Error or the Evil? there is no port trading

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to Virginia or Maryland, but have very greatly augmented and enlarged their Ships without any obligation thereto within these 6 or 7 Years. And wou'd effectually do it without prejudice if the Trade required it. For its undeniably true that if all Ships of Burden, do sail in proportion cheaper than small, there being a Master & Officers & more Men to sail a small than a large Ship in proportion, so the larger the better to be navigated to Advantage. Nor is it visibly any advantage to Virginia or Maryland, that any Ships that can countenance fraud, or can Act that which fair and just trade can not do, should be allow'd, for it is undeniably true, that every penny got by foul Trade, prejudices fair Traders treble as much And whatever the fair Trader loses must be soon felt by the Country, Now its evident that Bulk Tobacco only is that, that gives countenance and cover to all great Abuses that are acted in Trade, First it countenances the plunder and loss thereby to Planter & Merchant, Secondly it is the only part of Trade can be used to defraud the King's duty, which practice is the destruction to all fair Traders, Thirdly it is the part of Trade which lays Temptations of mens being perjured, by running Bulk, and then Shipping it out as if they had paid Custom, and so defrauding the nation of the entire 3^d p lb, and many also after Shipping out Hogheads, and sworn to the Exportation, have broken them up for conveniency and foisted it into the Kingdom, and by that means have cheated the Government of 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^d p lb, and surprized Trade, by being underfold in the Market, Fourthly it is that which occasions great part of Damage by abusing Casks to make way for this abusive & intollerable Trade of Bulk, So that to all fair men it is evidently a ruin & insupportable, and without Remedy will ruin all men concerned whether Merchant or Planter if not prevented, Yea further all second buyers are abused in it, for by the fraud already offered, all advantages in buying parcells is lost, because Bulk is grown to such excess,

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that it is secretly carried through the whole Kingdom, and poached from village to village. So that all generous trade is lost to the ruin of Merchants & planter Adventurers, Now one notable instance there is in this particular at present, There are some Ports in England can and do at this hour carry Bulk Tobacco by Land to York & Newcastle upon Horses, and there not only sell but offer to deliver Tobacco clear of all charges to their doors at $\frac{1}{2}^d$ & $\frac{3}{4}$ p^d lb cheaper than they can buy it at London, besides the hazard of transporting it & carriage, And also they carry the same as far as the Town of Berwick, By which it is evident they can & do trade at $1\frac{1}{2}^d$ p^d lb below us, their carriage & value considered, all which were impossible were the Bulk to pay its just dues, and its certain if it be continued it will ruin all just trade, of which the prohibition will give us all a just and equal foot of Justice, some men have objected, as if Bulk Tobacco were prohibited, many poor planters would lose by it, because Seamen buy their odd parcels which are not fit to put in Casks, This may be true, but instead of loss to throw it away would be profit, because such Trash is made usefull when here tho' at a contemptible Rate, which doth really bring down the Value of better, and its an easy thing to beleive that if good Tobacco in Cask will yield 20 or 30^s p^d Hhd more, its a full recompence to the Planter for the Loss of a parcell of Trash, which would not yield them above one farthing a pound if it were sold in Virginia, It is further urged that by this means freight would be dearer, and small Ships would be discouraged to come there; to which we may with great Assurance Answer, that it is a mistaken Notion, for freight would be never the dearer, For as small Ships are now designed for the ruin of Trade, then larger & more would be employ'd for the accommodation of Trade, And its evident that if Towns were settled as places of Importation and Exportation in a Short time freight would be easy and reasonable

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to a desirable degree, far beyond what can be possibly imagin'd by any other method, Besides suppose it were granted that freight would be dearer (as it is not reasonable to suppose) If Virginia & Maryland do but consider how the Traders have furnished the Trade with new Ships, to the wonder of all men to a degree exceeding all the Trade in Europe, yet what would 5^s a Hhd freight be, to the advance of 20 or 30^s a Hhd value in the Market, it would be recompense enough to retrieve Trade from inevitable Ruin to a profit. So that Argument we humbly conceive is but weak. Some further urge that the Commissioners of the Custom House are so curious, that they know how to prevent the running of Bulk & so will prevent the prejudice that way. To this we Answer that those who Argue that way, either do it by way of design to deceive those, whose intimations and knowledge reach not the certainty of the contrary, or arise from their real ignorance of the thing, for this we affirm, that as its now manag'd, its not possible for the Officers of the Custom to prevent it, because 'tis carried in such places where none are, and into by ports, where seldom any Importation is made, and what by the neglect, and treating & corrupting those little mean persons its effectually done, Besides such vessels have Boats that come out to them and take it away before they have been under the cognizance of any Officers, And notwithstanding all Endeavours made in the port of London by the Merchants to get it prevented) which in some degree we have done) yet we find it daily impossible to be done effectually, Besides in the out ports they take a Latitude to be 3. 6 & 8 months unlading, in which time they obtain means to execute their frauds, in despite of all care, by procuring opportunities, by corrupting a Company of poor indigent & vile fellows, employed as tides men & watchmen, to attend all this while, Besides we are assured the North of Ireland and the West of Scotland are fully satisfied this way, by which means trade is

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lost thither, and the King defrauded of his Customs in England, and in those Kingdoms, and would trade set up for informers, it cou'd detect many of these things every Year, which are now supported to the utter ruin and contempt of Trade, But we find many pretend, that no Law would prevent it, because after tis Shipt in Virginia & Maryland Masters and Sailors wou'd Bulk it up at at Sea, and New York, Pensylvania and New England men, would come and fetch it and Bulk it To this we humbly offer that if any such shall fetch it & pay the penny $\frac{3}{4}$ lb faithfully as they may be easily oblig'd to do, their fraud would not amount to much, because if it be prohibited all Bulk wou'd be accounted a fraud and accordingly dealt with. Besides the charge and Loss would be too great to expect Advantage by it, And to Ships bound to Europe it would not easily (if possible) be done as by the Specimen herewith is easily evinced, nor can any man probably be capable of doing a mischief twice this way: the price of it at once wou'd cure the future attempt So that its not so difficult as is supposed, to be prevented Besides such a law would meet with all encouragement from all fair Traders for the detection of such Evils and would not be accounted injurious, which now 'tis because all persons presume on it as either a privilege or a Right

Finally it is objected it wou'd discourage Seamen To this we cannot but Answer, that such discouragement (if there were any) would be to the Ships and not to trade, But however the advance of Wages would do and doth at all times command them at pleasure, even to the most obnoxious Voyages in the World, Besides we affirm, that a Sailor shall get more by one Hhd entire than by two in Bulk, provided Bulk were prohibited, and all stood on a just and equal foot, for by such means, there would be an adjudged market to walk by which now is so vitiated, that he that sells to day, cannot tell what measures he may take, or what Market may be determined to morrow.

Besides the Trade of Bulk which hath encroach't to an excess of late Years, hath destroy'd all the generosity of Trade, which generosity was the Support of it. 1692 April.

Now this we presume to demonstrate, by down right experience & undeniable Demonstration. Within this 15 Years in this City of London was about 20 Worthy Gentlemen of valuable Estates, which were termed first buyers, and did afterwards dispose and retail it out after bought, to such who were the consumers in City and Country, These Gentlemen always kept great Stocks by them, and one or two buying engaged others, by which means trade had its Lifts and Advantages, But since Bulk hath grown so opulent & that every Sailor and Woman, and little inconsiderable person can buy Bulk on Board the Ships, and Squeeze out by little designs part of the duties, if not wholly run it, and then carry it from Shop to Shop, and sell it at easy & low Rates, all such first buyers are destroyed, eat out, & have given over their former Trade, And none will presume to attempt it again under the present Measures, so that of 20 men that pursued trade in this nature, we know not such in this great City, that pretend any thing to it. But now every Importer is become a common Retailer for 1 or 2 or 3 Hhds, and is no better than a common Warehouse to every little consumer, which buy from hand to mouth, just as they can sell it. by which means trade is poached; And some being weary, or impatient of this little tedious trade force it on to the great contempt of trade, and running the Market down, to oblige a little customer; whereas such as were the former buyers of Tobacco, would often to secure their own profit give trade an advance, which is now the quite contrary. For as no man but the Importer hath (or will have) any Stock in his hands, so the little buyers not only buy sparingly, but engage all others to the same, to make their Stocks correspond with their trade, so that nothing but a fate or a regulation can give trade Life.

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Some object, it wou'd be best if all Tobacco were in Bulk, & give this reason for it, because thereby it would be cheaper, and so cope with all the Inland Tobacco made in Holland and Germany

To this we answer, that it is of absolute necessity for preserving the honour of trade it be either all Bulk or all in Cask.

1 As to being in Bulk, they that know the Trade do eminently know that Tobacco in Cask is esteemed by all men better than Bulk, especially all such Tobacco that hath either Honour or profit.

2 It is evedent in Holland itself they are so little in love with Bulk, that the Government there have laid a duty on every hundred pounds of Bulk Tobacco equal to a Hhd of Tobacco

3 If all were bulked, then all Tobacco would be uncertain, so all the choiceness of the Trade would be lost in the common evil, whereas now by the care in Hhds by sorting, and other parts of Industry, there is in Holland 2 or 3 Stivers difference between Tobacco & Tobacco which is very great, & the same in sweet scented, but lay all in Bulk & all crops of Honour will thereby be totally lost

4 If all were bulked from Virginia & Maryland, it wou'd be difficult so to order it, as to distinguish the several properties in a Ship, for from the Method of Antegoa & the West Indies, the practice of Bulk Tobacco came up, and in those parts all Ships are freighted by single proprietors, or two at most in a Ships whole lading; which could not be so well in Virginia and Maryland

5 If all were Bulk, it would be subject to thrice the damage by water, by plunder, by being moweburnt (as its termed) which often happens to a whole Ships lading from Antegoa and sometimes to considerable bodies of Tobacco from Virginia, & Maryland, and some Ships have been burnt, as late experience hath shewn

6 The demand of Trade as to Oranoco Tobacco, is that it be either bright (& then bulking prejudices it) or that trade calls good Leaf, that is such Leaf that is waxey & tough, and pliant in its own nature, which is used and sold not only in the province of Holland, but Hamborough, Sweeden, Norway, Dantzich, Breeme, Scotland, &c to make up in Roll. now by bulking its certain it would be prejudiced in its quality, which is that only thing that commends, and makes it valuable beyond their inland Germany Tobacco

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7 Besides all these reasons, this alone were enough, that Tobacco is transported from port to port after arrived in England, and therefore Bulk is not so convenient to transport as when in Cask, not only for its loss & drying which is considerable, but its damage, being to all the places above carried in mixture of Goods, and besides its not so convenient for the Merchant in point of securing his property: And (which as before is an Argument beyond all) All Men will give more for it in all Marketts abroad, and at home, and so it merits a market, by its being preserved in its natural condition without abuse to its Colour and Quality, and preserves its Scent, which is a great requisite

To demonstrate this its evident that at this day, that the Arguments above are true in respect to Cask, because tho' Tobacco doth come in Bulk to that excess it now doth, yet here this Bulk is forced to be pickt and cull'd and is daily repackt into Hhds & sent abroad, to make it acceptable in the Eye of the Market, and if Bulk were as acceptable; this were Labour lost to no purpose, And we averr, that no Bulk Tobacco can be repack't at less charge than $\frac{1}{4}$ & $\frac{3}{8}$ p lb, which in time of peace differs little from the freight, to such as pay freight for both, Besides when 'tis so repack't, 'tis abated more in its value than the difference of freight can amount to, so that its evident Cask is the true way of Trade

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8 It is evident by continual experience that Tobacco often lies in Holland, Sweeden, &c, a Year and sometimes 2 years for a Market, & if Bulk were to ly so long, the prejudice by it would exceed all the pretended advantage, beyond any difference of freight, and the reason is obvious to all, And further 'tis evident to all men trading in Tobacco, that the neat packing of Tobacco in Cask, is at least $\frac{1}{4}$ £ lb advance in the selling now if we consider the advantage of Cask, and the contrary of Bulk the fancy of that will vanish, The Advantages are

- 1 As to its Colour,
- 2 As to its Leaf,
- 3 As to its Scent,
- 4 As to its beauty and acceptableness in package,
- 5 As to its preserving from damage and Violence,
- 6 As to its more secure transportation,
- 7 As to its better ascertaining its charge to all Governments, which however slighted is in Bulk trade, very considerable, Now whereas it is urged to make it as cheap as the Inland Tobacco,

We humbly offer in Answer, that is impossible in point of freight duty, and incident charges, so that the Method must loose that efficacy. It is undeniably true that the cheaper it can be carried to other Markets, the better and the more acceptable, & the greater will be the consumption. But such ease of charge must be always so considered, that it abate not the Esteem of the Commodity you have to ease, If Tobacco be eased $\frac{1}{4}$ £ lb which is the most it can be, to a foreign Market, by the honest Merchant, who must pay all duties, (a much greater charge being on Bulk than hhds in all ports) and the Tobacco being debased $1\frac{3}{4}$ £ lb which a great Quantity would be, where then lies the Advantage of Bulk is certainly invisible to all men that intend & design a publick Good,

- 9 Now it is evident that all Virginia & maryland Tobacco is

fold in all foreign Markets, because of its usefulness, & qualities ;
which Inland & Germany Tobacco hath not ; & the preserving
such qualities is preserving the Honour of it : whereas on the
Contrary, if new measures be once taken to abate the Qualities
of Virginia & Maryland Tobacco, it will bring it into Con-
tempt, & the use of it will be lost : this is a most visible event
that appears in the turning all Casks to Bulk, Viz. That as all
Inland & Germany Tobacco is only & properly Bulk, that Sort
wou'd be made to imitate it, & so foisted as Virginia & Maryland
Tobacco & so by degrees would wholly eat out the Trade, &
bring it to no value or esteem ; These Reasons may serve a
little to convince, that Bulk Tobacco hath no other tendency
in it but the ruin of Trade. That these Reasons may be back't
with Authority here follow the Reasons & Acts done by the
Government here in order to a recommendation of such a Law

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To the Hon^{ble} the Commissioners of their Majesty's Customs,

Whereas in the Year 1687 We the Merchants, Masters of
Ships and traders to Virginia & Maryland, did Petition the late
King James for a prohibition of Bulk Tobacco from being
exported from Virginia & Maryland into England or any other
parts, which accordingly had the approbation of the King &
Council, & of the hon^{ble} Commissioners of the Treasury, &
Customs ; and the late King James was pleased to recommend
that pursuant thereunto, a Law should be made in Virginia &
Maryland, for the prohibition of the same ; and whereas such
recommendation was transmitted to the Government of Vir-
ginia, but thro' a wrong Information the assembly there hap-
pening to have a misunderstanding thereof, the same did not take
effect, but the said Government & the principal Inhabitants of
Virginia & Maryland are now convinced of the many ill conse-
quences attending such exportation of Bulk Tobacco, and the
reasonableness Justice & Advantage of such prohibition, we

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therefore the Merchants Masters of Ships & traders to Virginia & Maryland whose names are hereunder subscribed do humbly offer this our memorial with our reasons thereunto annexed, that their Majestys King William & Queen Mary will be graciously pleased to recommend to the Government both of Virginia & Maryland, their making such a Law for the prohibiting bulk Tobacco as aforefaid, as to their Majesty's Wisdom shall seem most meet humbly requesting the Commissioners of their Majesties Customs to be a means that this our humble desire may be laid before their Majesties

	Robert Ruddle	John Green	Edw Haifwell
Edw Leman	Ben Dowlen	Tho: Rasco	Sam Richards
Edu Laffells	Wm Cant	Rich Barret.	Zach Taylor
Wm Burnham	John Taylor	Thom Starke	Sam Dean
Rich: Buller	James Waystaff	John Hodges	Rich Parke
Anth Cornwell	John Bruniskill	Tho Rogers	Geo Baker
John Glover	Dormer Sheppard	Sam, Groome	Tho Lane
Edmo Littlepage	Geo Richards	Hopefer Bendall	Rob Bristow Junr
James Cary	Tho. Taylor	Jos Pyle	Nath. Garland
James Boath	John Potet	Micajah Perry	Edw. Persons
John Abbington	John Cary	Rich Mash	Tho Hasted
Tho Walfh	Rogers Jones	Tho Wych,	Wm Willis
Ben, Withcott	Dudley Carlton	John Cary	Sam, Gibbs
Wm Howfon	Arth. Bayly	John Cooper	Josiah Bacon
John Munday	Sr Tho Grantham	John Brown	Thomas Ellis
Edw, Curtis	Sr Rich, Levett	John Kent	Anth Straton
Wm Phippard	Robt Bristow Esqr	Fran, Lee	Arthur North
Michael Jones			

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Some Reasons why Bulk Tobacco from Virginia & Maryland ought to be prohibited from being exported thence or imported into England, and that all Tobacco ought to be Shipt in Cask to prevent the Evil & Mischief that attend the bringing it in Bulk

1st **F**IRST in respect to his Majesty's Interest.

1 Bulk Tobacco is the only Tobacco that is run by the Seamen, and others to his Majesty's great Loss

2 Under the cover of Bulk Tobacco, considerable Quantities of Tobacco have been supposed to have been foisted into the Kingdom, to the apparent prejudice of his Majesty's Revenues.

3 Bulk Tobacco doth occasion his Majesty to maintain upon all Tobacco Ships above treble the number of Officers, to his very great charge.

4 Bulk Tobacco is shipt out of Virginia privately to other parts beyond the Seas, whereby his Majesty looses the 1^d £ lb, which by law it ought to pay.

5 Bulk Tobacco occasions several Small Ships from the West & Northwest of England & Ireland to engage in the Trade, being capable to run from one port or creek to another to find conveniency to smuggle it. which were Bulk Tobacco prohibited, could not be done, nor the King so vastly prejudiced in his Customs, nor trade ruined by them,

6 Bulk Tobacco produces 25 £ lb loss to his Majesty by Shrinkage, waste & other Damages, which in Cask it would not do, nor would it turn to an Account to the practicers, which are generally the Ship's Company, but by their fraud in the King's Customs, and the Ships by getting it freight free

7 Bulk Tobacco makes it impossible for any Master or Commander of any Ship to make a true report of his Lading to his

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Majesty, which in Cask he might easily do. And as impossible for any Master or Commander to prevent his men runing it, while the practice of Bulk is continu'd.

8 Bulk Tobacco abates the 6th part of Navigation to Virginia & Maryland, because were all in Cask, it would fill one Ship in 6, more than now, and so wou'd be an occasion to bring up Seamen, & employ Ships.

9 Bulk Tobacco occasions many false oaths at the Custom House to the prejudice of his Majesty & all fair Traders, by covering uncustomed Goods, & can no way be prevented but by preventing Bulk,

10 Bulk Tobacco occasions by many ways vast damages in Tobacco, by the neglect of Seamen, and by the damage it often doth in a Ship, to the great loss of the owners of the Ship, & also to his Majesty and to the Merchants.

11 Bulk Tobacco often ruins both owners and merchants, by ships putting into ports with hope to run their Bulk (& by which means many times the Ships are lost) which otherwise would not be done, but they wou'd come directly to their delivering port And Secondly.

(2^{dly} The Government of Virginia becomes prejudiced by Bulk Tobacco.

1 In that Bulk Tobacco defrauds the Government of the 2^s of the Revenue which it ought to pay, and which is the cheif Revenue they have to support the Government, & by computation is as before above one Sixth part,

2 It prejudices the Government in the port charges of one Ship in six, which is very considerable.

3 It hinders the employ of above a Sixth part of the Shipping coming to those Countrys, and thereby of an expence of the Provisions & growth of the Country.

4 It makes all Masters or Commanders wholly unable to give a just account of what Tobacco is on board his Ship, to the

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Government, in regard it is conveyed and stow'd privately in the Ship, frequently unknown to him, and so he is no way capable of being answerable for the same, besides they themselves are often too guilty not to cover others in their fraud.

5 It occasions vast Quantities to be exported thence unknown to the Government, by its easy conveyance into ships unobserved, & to be transported into places that are not allowable by Law.

6 It is by Bulk Tobacco that the Government of Virginia gives so slender an Account of the 1^d £ 1b which the Law lays on all Tobacco exported thence to any place but to England, and is the occasion of so much Tobacco exported to the prejudice of the Government & to trade, As to Shipping & Navigation it is also prejudicial.

1 It is in that it brings down freight to above a Sixth part by reason a Ship stowed with Bulk Tobacco brings & can bring a Sixth part more by bulking in the cantlings & hollows of the Ship & other places of breakage in the Ship than if in Cask.

2 It hinders by that means about a Sixth part of Shipping that wou'd be employ'd in it, we may say a full fourth,

3 Thirdly it occasions great controversies & troubles between Commanders & Seamen because the bringing of Bulk commonly hinders a Ship a third or fourth part of her time in lading by Seamens & Officers neglect of time in their bulking, which also proves a ruin to the owners of the said Ship & can't be prevented; the Commanders and Seamen themselves by a presumptive Custom have brought it to be accounted a privilege, tho an unreasonable & unjust one, and have run the same to great excess.

4 It occasions many Suits in the Court of Exchequer by the frauds which are occasion'd by it, and it is most evident no Suit is almost commenced, but upon this account, to the prejudice of the innocent owner, and discouragment of Navigation.

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5 By reason of Bulk some have burn't & lost their Ships, to the loss of Ship & Goods, & much Tobacco is frequently burnt, as his Majesty's Officers can testify, to the great loss of the King & Merchant.

As to the Merchants & Planters the evil of Bulk is beyond all Account that can be given

1 Bulk Tobacco being that which as before, too much defrauds the King, and being freight free is underfold to the contempt of trade, & ruin of the merchant and Planter Adventurers, It being evident some Ships not bringing 500 Hhds have brought 40 some 50 some 60.000^b of bulk, which hath been sold at under rates (by reason before exprest) to the ruin of Trade.

2 Bulk Tobacco becomes a cover to many frauds both in Virginia and here, which under this duty now laid makes the fair trader unable to support himself under it.

3 Bulk Tobacco supplying an early market occasion the Merchant & Planter's delay (as well as loss) in the dispatch of Trade, & disposal of his Goods, to his vast charge & loss.

4 Bulk Tobacco is carried on by the ungenerous part of Traders, which hawke it about to the undervaluing and contempt of the Market, by the many Sights & frauds used in it, that cannot be done in Cask,

5 Bulk becomes prejudicial to the Merchant & Planter in regard little is sold, til Bulk is first dispos'd of, and that often supplying the present Occasions at low rates, often sets a Market upon the Merchant, by which means it happens that both Merchant & Owners of Ships, hire & employ those who by pretended privilege ruin their employers.

6 Bulk Tobacco becomes a ruin to the Merchant Adventurer, by the decay of Shipping & loss of a Market, often to 30 & 40 ³/₄ Cent sometimes to loss of the Capital.

But now it follows, by what means this Evil of Bulk may

be prevented or regulated, to which submitting to better Judgments, we humbly offer our Opinions, that if a Law were made to this effect, or as should seem best to the Government, it would be effectual: and if such Law did (as we beleive it wou'd) Check & prevent the abuses in Bulk, all Traders & Planters would immediately find the advantage by it, to the Honour of Trade & profit of the dealers in it which cannot be til all men stand upon an equal foot of Justice

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The Substance or heads of a Law against Bulk might have some respect to these measures or some such like.

1 That no Bulk Tobacco shall be exported out of Virginia & Maryland on the penalty of 1000£ or what shall be thought fit.

2 That all Masters & Commanders give 1000£ good security in Virginia, or Maryland to perform such law.

3 That every Commander be oblig'd to give a true content of each mark, & quantity of each mark of hhds taken into his Ship, and by whom Shipt, or consign'd to, & on what Account Shipt

Any of these is enough in this Nature.

Copy of the Content of the Ship Hope of London, bound thither,

John Williams Commander, &c

. X 20 hhds on Account Simon Davis

. R: T 40 hhds on Account Thomas Simons.

70 hhds on Account Rich, Adams, & so, ad infinitum

4 That S such contents be made out & all sign'd by the Commander, and then oath to be made by the said Commander, which oath is to be certified by the Collector on the said contents, & that the Collector also sign them, one content to be delivered to the Commander to enter his Ship by in England, a second content to be sent to the Commissioners of the Customs,

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the third to be in the nature of a Record with the Collector, with whom the Ship cleared in Virginia & Maryland.

5 That all Commanders be oblig'd within 12 Months to return a certificate to Virginia & Maryland, of such his true discharge, from the Commissioners of their Majesty's Customs in London (the casualties & dangers of the Seas excepted) or their securities to be sued for the same, & recovery to be without Composition, or in case the said Commander return, that the said Commander and Ship be liable to make good such Obligation.

6 That such fines be appropriated to the Government & other such Public Uses, as the prudence of the Government shall see cause, giving a part to the Collector who is to be oblig'd to sue for the same under a penalty.

7 That all such Duplicates & certificates returned from England to reported from time to time to the Governors, and to be adjusted at every Audite of Accompts in the said Government.

By such like Law no Commander can cheat twice, but at a rate no way profitable, and the terms of it such that no honest Man wou'd be prejudiced by it, and for others fake it is that the Law itself is propos'd.

We shall not add more, contenting ourselves that finding the evil of Bulk intolerable, both as to the planter and trader, we have cast in our mite of endeavours to prevent it, be its fate what it will, we shall be easy under it, Let this be excused from,

. &C.





MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

On Suspending the Laws for paying Debts in Country Commodities of Virginia.

To the Hon^{ble} Commissioners of their Majesty's Customs.
An Answer to the reply of W^m Sherwood, James Blair, Patrick
Smith, for some reasons for suspending the Laws for paying
debts in Country Commodities of Virginia, and the clauses in
the Law of ports, to be bound to buy and sell wholly in the
same under a penalty, and also as to that clause about the
Impost of Skins & furs.

I **T**O the Law termed a Law for advancing of Manu-
factories.

We humbly offer that their first Article is not true, the Law
now reviv'd doth affect all Debts contracted by Merchants in
England, that send Goods, for its evident & will be proved that
debts contracted in England, by goods sent and money advanced
to the inhabitants, hath been Subject to this Law whenever it
came to ly between an Inhabitant & Merchant, because they
say its a Virginia Debt, being due from their inhabitants, besides
the Law itself hath no proviso to defend the Merchant from
it, we refer to the Law itself.

2 The next insinuation is manifestly false, for the Law made
in 1663 hath no respect to this Law, being worded quite con-

trary, and had no intentions towards it, but is a false and unworthy insinuation, to give a credit to the injury, which this later Law would produce, it having no Eye to the value of the Goods, or the necessity of the Debtor, besides this Law as hath been urged exempts all their valuable Estates as Lands, Negroes, Servants & houses, from being liable to pay any debts, by which the Creditor is defrauded of all things of value.

And whereas they would excuse this Law upon the Credit of the debtor, who having taken such Oath would be in the Nature of a Bankrupt, Granting that true, where is the relief for the Creditor, for the Law debauches the Debtors Principles, by contriving a way for him to defraud his Creditor, & then would put it on his punctilio of honour to be more just than the Law obliges, we humbly suppose its a weak Argument, to suppose a Law of this Nature.

3 As to the value of the Commodities in this Country; they urge it as the common prices from man to man; its true it may be to some whose great necessity calls for them, and have not to pay for them; but we are ready to prove it to your Honours its not so, nor hath been this sixteen Years save one severe Year or two, by the failure of the crop, it would be hard that the prices of a Dearth should be the standing value to pay debts, & we are ready to prove that you may buy wheat for 2^s 6^d 3^d Bushel in common, if paid for in goods or money, and that is valued at 4^s and Pease at 2^s which are valued at 4^s and so in proportion all other the Commodities enumerated in the said Law; by which is evident the fallacy couched in their Answer.

And whereas they are pleased to value several Commodities in Tobacco which is known to all to be an uncertain Commodity sometimes 3^s 6^d C^t and more difference, in the market, and as much difference in quality which makes the Creditor still under hard bonds, if tis so that the debtors pleasure shall be his Paymaster, which we hope will be considered.

And whereas the Merchants are taxed with the great and excessive Rates, and raking the Country, one instance is given, that a Bushel Salt doth buy a Bushel of wheat, in time of Peace, Granting that to be true, which yet is not granted.

Yet we do aver that Salt sent from London in time of peace, doth in Charge of Cask & waste & freight & Shipping & other Charges stand the Merchants in about 2^s 7^d 6^d 3^d Bushel which brings us back to the true Value of the said wheat, and we cannot remark unto your honours, how unkind this reflection is, that people would have Salt as cheap in Virginia as we pay for it in London, whereas, were freight paid to the full for it, it could not be carried hence & sold for 3^s 3^d Bushel, & is a Commodity carried by the Merchant only for accommodation, no man ever yet propounding profit by it that carried it from London.

As to their Instructing the Merchant to keep his accounts we humbly conceive it foreign to this Law, but yet we humbly offer that in the Year 1690. the Merchants did generally give, & we are ready to prove it, 2^d 3^d lb & to 20^s 3^d Cent for Tobacco, when it yielded not clear 1^d, so that keeping Accounts at 10^s 3^d Cent would not have availed the Merchant at all, as they propound.

4 And whereas they say this Law hath been in force this nine Years we hope your Honours will take notice of this contradiction, to their 2^d Assertion where they derive this Law from 1663, and the weakness of their Argument lies that no Merchant hath suffered; we shall not say how many have suffered, but if no particular instance hath been in point of Law, yet there are instances of those who have accounted the Loss of their Debts equal to the recovery of them by this Law.

And the weakness of the Law is confest in that they own the Government of Virginia, puts no manner stress upon this

Law, which shews it needless, but to make such knaves, as otherwise might be honest Men.

And whereas instead of a reason to defend a Law, the replyers are pleased to say we only oppose it to ridicule the Government, we humbly assure your honours that such a reflection is only an abuse and calumny cast upon us, because we are not willing to have trade ravished from us, and our Estates taken away by force of a single Oath before a single Justice of Peace,

And to say no more we are oblig'd to say, none in Virginia of any quality whatsoever, do (or indeed) are obliged to seek the welfare of Virginia beyond ourselves, and its Evident to your Honours by our Endeavours to support the Trade of that Colony, under all the difficulties that attend it.

As to the Law about Ports

WE shall answer briefly, that had Virginia a million of people more than they have, it might with some Colour be alledged, it were either possible or reasonable to make 20 Towns, & enjoin all buyers & Sellers to buy and sell in them; but we do aver that as the Country is at present constituted, & the Inhabitants live remote and dispersed, it will be both unreasonable & unkind, to force all trade into such places, because it will be hardly possible in seven Years to get people together, to make such a Town as may make a Market, Its true were the People enough in the Country, & were settled in Towns, & convenient cohabitations, Tradesmen would live better, many things would be easier, but that can only be the effect of time, & we prove it thus,

I All the People that inhabit these now have Houses & plantations of their own, and are settled with their families, & will not be brought to leave a certainty of Bread to cohabit in a

place only called a Town where no Trade is, nor business to support them,

2 They urge how well handicrafts could live if there were Towns, its true but there must be People to employ them, or they would starve in the Town for want, beyond what they do now, because now they can make Bread, & support their families.

3 They instance that the Merchants & Tradesmen should first begin the Towns, we humbly offer unto your honours the hardships of the Merchant who depends on people to trade with, who is propounded to settle a Town to draw People to it, & dare not fell from the Melancholly spot he is confin'd to, as to tradesmen the Merchant is not settled in Trade, but at certain times of Shipping, & cannot employ the Tradesmen as Shoemakers Taylors & Carpenters & Bricklayers, except in work of Porters to load & unload Ships & the like. It must be a gradual drawing of People that must support, & effect, & do all that is alledged desirable in this Law

4 We aver that there is at least 400 or 500 of the Inhabitants that trade to England, and have Goods & Merchandizes hence ; it appears to be very unreasonable all these should have their Hands tied up not to sell to their Neighbours, tho 20 or 30 miles from a Town, or else to leave their habitations & Plantations, to go and become a member of some Town, it would be a greater privilege to be a Chandler in a Township in England, than to be the best inhabitant and trader in Virginia,

And whereas its averred how willing the people of Virginia are herein, we assure the common people which must make up the body of these Towns ; approve not the Terms of it, tho all men are fond to have Towns on a Modest Account.

And whereas they are pleased to make an Argument for their Towns, by reproaching Trade & Traders, pretending that Merchants undo the Country, & by extortion ruin the People.

We do in answer to such Calumny say, in Virginia goods are bought & sold 20 & 30 Per cent cheaper than in any of their Majesty's plantations, either in the West Indies or New England or any other part on the main, some particular instances excepted) the People of Virginia have their Goods cheaper than any even in England in their Capacity can buy it, so that this harangue shows the mistake in the Country, to vilify & discourage trade, under pretence to advance it, And farther whereas they do alledge the Planter durst not ask the price of his Goods, We cannot but be amazed at such assertion we shall to prove that to be a mistake (if desired by your Honours) produce our Books & Accounts received from thence, which will prove all these assertions false, And that the Merchant is the support of the Country, & not the ruin, is evident from all their Complaints, which any obstruction of trade creates

As to the Education of Children, &c, its true Towns would be usefull, but the Inhabitants must find a way by Trade to live before they can either maintain themselves, or Schools, and Markets for Provisions might be supposed, & trade not suppressed, which this Law would immediately do

And whereas the Law enjoins the Planter to bring his Tobacco to these Towns, to sell it, we assure your Honours, 'twill be hardly possible to be done, for a poor man if he cou'd send his Tobacco to a Town as is alleg'd, it would be a severity to force him to follow it 20 or 30 miles to sell it, & when he sells it, it can hardly bear his charges home; but notwithstanding all they alledge, we are morally sure it cannot be done, but that the Law must be in this point suspended or else trade be crippled,

Now as to Towns we are all desirous of them, & would Act our part to further them, but that they should be such, as were possible to consist with Trade

I We agree Towns usefull to the Inhabitants, & Trade; but then that they be Ports, to import, & Land, & to export &

Ship; which only Acts wou'd create Towns without trouble or force

2 That no person be oblig'd to bring his Tobacco to such Town or other Goods; but he that exports, or imports it, be he planter or Merchant and then none wou'd be Oppressed

3 That Towns so constituted would engage the Merchants & Traders to Act their own buisiness; to the best advantage as to time & the dispatch of Shipping, & to getting to Markets which is the Sinew of Trade all which would be lost if there were the least dependence upon a Company of (as these Gentlemen alledge them) miserable poor planters to effect it, because such Merchants & Traders would have Boats, Sloops, Sailors & Servants of their own, to facilitate the whole; all which is short & easy and a most effectual way to raise Towns and to Trade with them

As to the Reply about Skins & Furs,

We humbly offer,

1 **T**HAT what is asserted seems to prove the Law to be a private Anger to 4 or 5 men; rather than any other Advantage; And whereas its boldly asserted that, that trade is at least 30 Pct profit, We challenge such Assertors to make it out 30 Pct communibus Annis; So do not doubt to make it out by 10 Years successive Accounts of that Trade, & further we averr not upon hearsay, & prejudice, as here its reply'd to Your Honours, but by too much experience that there has 30 Pct. upon furs less some Years, so that this great pretence appears more prejudice than Justice; so that its apparent that 25 P C' is an excessive duty & only glanced at some Men's particular Interest

And whereas they alledge its practicable to raise the Value on the Indians, we do aver its not possible

1 Because such Traders are in Contract at such prices & the Indians sell skins for so much powder, Cloth, or other things, & not by money and its found by all Traders, that Commodities abate yearly in Value & profit with them, as they come to any experience in Commodities, & cannot be raised,

2 Besides its certain the Indians will not Trade upon such disadvantage when other Places Court them & would be fond of the Trade which this Law prohibits.

3. If there were no other reason for this Trade, but the support of the consumption of our coarse woolen Manufactory, it were obliging enough to the continuing of it, And where these Repliers say this duty of 25 p Cent would engage the Merchants, if Supplies come not in, to sell the worst of their Skins to the poor people, to all which we humbly offer.

That greater Supplies have not gone to Virginia in any Years; than hath even since this War, & we appeal to the King's Books to justify this Assertion

And for the worst of the Skins, we will engage for the Traders in Virginia that the Inhabitants shall have them Peace & War at 10 p Cent Loss; there often being twice the Loss by bringing them into Europe, and are worth here not so much as a Sheep Skin to make pockets with, so that that Infination is most frivolous

And we do assert & its certain that if the Merchant ceases to send the Manufactory of this Kingdom, the Trade ceases, & if the Trade ceases, how will they have the Skins? for as we have proved & will prove, the Merchants send 2, 3, or 400 Miles up the Country to purchase them, and so the duty & all the good so greatly propounded by it falls to nothing As to Hides & Skins pretended to be killed by the Inhabitants of the Country, they are few, & not fondly bought by any, & as to the Skins of Beef they are bought by Masters of Ships to lay over Tobacco & prevent Damage, and never as we knew of bought for mer-

chandize being often fold here for 2^s & 2^s/6^d $\frac{2}{3}$ Hyde & sometimes for 12^d

So that all that amounts to no more than Clamour, & if these trifles be of such use to the People, what is the reason that the People sell them; truly the reason is obvious to have Linnen & woolen & necessaries much more profitable to them, which the Repliers ought to have taken notice of, And whereas we alledged the returns of Skins were returned in Cloathing, back to Virginia; the Repliers are pleased to defend the Law upon the hardship the Merchants have, in having their goods lost at Sea its a hard case such a Law should envy the Merchant his Loss

It should (we shou'd have thought) have been an Argument to have eased Trade, because of its Hazards & Losses, and not have added to its loss by an unsupportable Duty, we doubt not but your Honours see' thro' this Sleeveless Argument

And as to what they say, its a Calumny thrown upon the Country, that they might have had Skins if they cou'd have propounded satisfactory pay.

We give for Answer their own Reply, that they would have paid Tobacco to the Merchant at any price.

All this Maligning & blackning Trade shews an ill will to Trade itself, which we humbly offer as their own Words so no Calumny, for no man had skins but wou'd have sold them if he could have had that for them which would have compenced their Value; and its the Interest of those without any Law so to do; besides this reply seems to bespeak an Occasion of contest with Trade, as trade, & men as traders, for all the traders that had Skins had as we averr'd before, Cotton, Serge, Kersey, Flannell & Linnen more proper than Skins which they might have desired; but this trade was to be prohibited to 4 or 5 men which these repliers mention before, & so nothing cou'd raise a Clamour; but to this method of proceeding, which is so noto-

riously obvious to your Honours View in the reply itself we shall not say more

And again they appear with a false & notorious mistake pretending the excess of profit which we have answered, & will prove, doth not amount to one third part of what is pretended, but is a reproach cast upon trade, for what so done we leave to your Honour's Consideration; not doubting what ever ill eye this Law may have to trade, his Majesty will encourage it

And whereas in the last place the pretend this Law wou'd have no ill Aspect to Virginia, and that there is no Advantage but what 3 or 4 Men get Estates by. To this we Answer,

1. That the Number of Traders on the Exchange of London do abundantly exceed the number mentioned, besides these 4 or 5 so much envy'd & maligned in Virginia, & are the only butts the Law points at; & is so often mention'd by the repliers, & certain it is that a breaking off the Trade from the Indians, would break off their Freindship which is valuable, tho' undervalued to drive on this Law,

2. And whereas 'tis replied that the disadvantages to Virginia are many, As for Instance, That every Year some are killed & loose their Lives to which we Answer, that we are assured there hath been but 2 killd this 6 or 7 Years, & both them by one Single Indian, who was disgusted against them, for denying him provisions, we challenge the repliers to prove more, & we will answer their manner of being killed

Next we must take Notice how the pretend the Skin Merchants keep the poor Traders under, as the Tobacco Merchants keep under the Planters, so that the whole tendency of this Reply is to beat Trade out of Countenance, & to calumnize the Merchants & Traders, which injury is recommended to your Honour's Observation

The next Calumny they lay on their Government, who they

say avenge not the Murther of the English, we leave the Government to answer for themselves,

And whereas they alledge the felling powder & Shot & Guns is an injury we assert its the only conveniency & advantage, because hereby in Case of War or any trouble it lieth in the power of the English to withhold both from them, by which they will at least for a considerable time be made incapable of procuring it, & so made more dependent, whereas were their dependence on Arrows (as formerly) they would be offensive without remedy

And its own'd by all other plantation for true policy to beat the Indians from Arrows &c, only because of the provisions & accurate use, that the Indians have of them) but because that continent is as yet in Nature, Woods, & with Arrows (not to mention the custom of poisoning them) they kill and are unseen, & so not to be discovered, whereas they give warning by there Guns to others to defend themselves if perchance they kill any one whereas it is well known, there was ten times the mischief done when Arrows, were the Indians weapons, than one now

And whereas the repliers are pleased Yet to urge the great & continual fear the traders in the Country are at, of being knock't on the head, which makes them servile & base, & stirs up in the Indians a contempt of the English Government, This bold assertion can never be proved, nor is there such fear, we dare say, the repliers cannot give one Instance of it further, than in 7 Years such an Accident of some private Indians (as before) may happen, but is an insinuation foreign to all the knowledge of the Repliers, save as an Argument to support a Law intended for the abatement of trade only because its fancied 4 or 5 men get something by it, as is by them alledged,

And it is further worthy your Honours consideration that this clamour against going out to the Indians to trade, is against that which other plantations are at a great charge to send out,

- 1, To see and discover the Country,
- 2, To learn the Strength of the Indians & their way of living
- 3, To find out Trade & civilize them by degrees,

But whereas they object against the debauch't Lives of them that go out to trade it were to be wish't they were better, but these repliers only by hearfay, & not by knowledge, lay this reproach upon them; it being known some of them are as civil persons as any in the Government; and it would be hard that a Body of men should be reproach't for any particular act of one Man, besides we humbly presume the King's Majesty & the Government would loath to loose the Trade of the Nation, for the sake of some debauch't porters, Sailors, or Carmen that are employed in negotiating the Laborious part of it, which is in good measure the same thing, Lastly they alledge a repetition of a profit, which would bear this duty; we do declare the contrary, & as before are ready to produce Accounts for many Years past, to prove it a mistake, taken up on pure prejudice to trade, for some particular Interest, as by their own confession in this very paragraph of their Answer.

Wherein they give as a reason why the Trader was prohibited the carrying out their goods from that Colony, to the making the best of their Estates, which they had with so much charge, & hazard, & Insurance brought in there because they wou'd go to Carolina & Maryland, where no such duty was, & so make some advantage of their goods, And some of us have been informed this very clause was put hastily in, on purpose because a worthy Gentleman a trader in that Country, said that he cared not if they made the Law he wou'd remove his goods which perfectly evinces, the Law was made not for the publick good but for prejudice.

We therefore humbly offer unto your Honours the unreasonable hardship of this Law (which is without any precedent in

any Nation whatsoever) that it should make it to be impossible for the Merchant to sell his Merchandize in that Government, and to make it ruinous on purpose to prohibit it to be carried to any other, where he may not do it, and since this Clause, as we have alledged, is greatly contradictory to the Law of England, & to the Interest of England, & the freedom of Trade, & an abatement of the consumption of the Manufactory of this Kingdom, we hope his Majesty will take it into Consideration, before it have the Royal assent.

And humbly pray Orders may be taken herein, that the Merchants may have Liberty either to trade or remove their Effects where they may, & not by such a surprizing (if not unreasonable Law) have their Estates destroyed.

The Method of Curing Red and Pickle Herrings.

YOU must not take any Herrings till they are full rowed & when they begin to be Shotten you must leave off Those Herrings you design to cure to be red'd, you must cull them, that are well baited, then what you take out of a draught, lay on a boarded place laid Shelving for to drain, then sprinkle them & turn them with great and Small Salt mixt, & after the blood & Slime is drained from them, take them & wash & Scale them in the first Water, then pull out the Gill & with it the Gut, leaving the row in, & belly whole, then rince them in the 2nd Water, & throw them into pickle made pretty strong with large Salt then you must have your long wooden rods ready, which must be full of little Short peggs, at such distance as the Herrings must not touch each other, which when you have filled with Herrings you must hang up in your herring hang, which must have peices of Timber come down from the Rafters of the House full of Peggs to lay your Rods of Herrings on, then light some green Sappy Billets at the ends and lay about 3

together on the Flower in several Places about 6 Foot distance each Fire which must be very carefully tended night & day, for if the fires are out never so little time the Herrings are all Spoiled & if you let the fire be more than a constant Smooking glowing heat (which you must order by opening & Shutting the Windows & Doors) the Herring will be roasted & drop from the bone, but your fires must be such as the herrings must just be kept moist from top to bottom, & drop very soberly, they must have 3 droppings, which will take up about 4 Weeks, then take them down off the Sticks & lay them 4 or 5 days on Peaham Straw, then pack them up in dry season'd Cask end ways, You must during their hanging to cure have a Ladder to take down those which shall be first cured, which you will find by their not dropping any more.

Pickle Herrings.

YOU must manage your pickle Herring after the same manner you do the red Herring, and then pack then pack them very close in your Barrels with a good Quantity of large Salt, about 2 or 3 Weeks afterwards you must make new pickle & new pack & press them very close in the Cask with weights, then head them up & set them in your Warehouse bound up with a peice of Slate, tile or Stone on the Bung, & keep filling them with pickle till you Ship them on board for a Voyage.

The Method of Planting Vineyards and Making Wine.

1 **A** SPECIAL regard must be of the Climate, Seasons & Soil, which you design to plant, & to know what Sort of Vines will thrive best in each.

2 For all sweet & rich Wines, either a Strong or Chalky Soil, whether on plains or declivities, which are most proper for dry

& full body'd Wines; a loose mould & Sandy Soil for green wines; or a black mould, & moist Lowground if not surrounded with Neighbouring Hills.

3 The Month of November new Stile, is the proper season for Planting, especially in dry & warm Grounds, & on declivities to the South & Southwest.

4 Your Plants must be cut from Old Stocks that be sound & fruitfull, which set about 2 feet deep in the Earth, leaving about half a foot out, & take care to have knots both above & under Ground, for from them sprout both the Roots & branches, set the Plants in rows about 4 feet distant from each other, which rows must be made at such a convenient distance, as the Labourers may have room enough to prune, dig, weed &c, betwixt them.

5 If you stick a small Stake by each plant, & ty it thereto with Spart rushes, or the like binding it will secure them from being shaken by violent winds, or from being carried away by floods, but as the Plants grow up use longer and thicker Stakes especially if you design (as they do in some parts) to frame the Rows into the manner of a hedge, with is made by long Canes & Strait Sticks carry'd from one Stake to the other & fasten'd to each, Breast high; as the Branches of the Vine sprout out lay them down on each Side upon these Stakes, binding to the same such as be preserved to bear fruit, but prune off all the under Sprouts & keep the Edge so free that a man by stooping may view from one end of the Vineyard to the other: if the ground admit of the same; yet in most parts of Spain they make no such hedges, but leave the Vine to embrace the Stake or spread upon the Ground.

6 For pruning begin in the wain of the moon in January, & don't exceed the wain in March following, & the sooner this work be ended before the utmost Season, the better, if you make no edge, then lop all the branches to the head, which

will thicken into a large knobb; but if you keep to the hedge work, you may leave 2 or 3 of the main branches extended on the Canes, cutting off the Ends with discretion.

7. After pruning, open the Ground round the Roots to receive the rains; but when the weather begins to be warm, & the Sun to scorch, then fill up the Ground again

8. The clearer you keep the Vineyard from Weeds, you will gather more fruit, & make better Wines,

9. As your Plants grow full of Leaves, & the Grapes incline to ripen, you must direct your men to walk thro' each row, & gather off such Leaves as Shade the fruit from the Wind and Sun

10. The wain of September Moon new Stile, is the usual Season for gathering the Grapes, & if you forbear to gather the bunches (which should be cutt off with a small Bill or hooked knife) till after the Sun hath risen, & hath warmed the Grape, & hath dry'd up all the moisture contracted by the night dews, and again leave off before the evening dews can affect the Grape, you will certainly make the better Wine, tho' the less; the closer the bunches are cut off to the Grape, by which you will have the less Stalks, it will add to the goodness of the wine, otherwise the Stocks leave naturally an unpleasant, bitterish taste on the palate,

11. The ripest fruit must be first gathered, leaving the more latterly for the second & third gathering, exposing them as much as you can to the Sun to ripen; if the rains fall before the vintage, you will make the more wine, but it will be neither so good nor so rich,

12. In the making of Sherry Wine, after gathering the bunches, they spread the Grape upon Matts, exposed to the Sun's beams, as well to dry up all the outward moisture, as for the easier picking out all the rotten or green Grapes, when this is done they are carried to the treading press, at which time they

spread over them a Quantity of the Yesso Powder, which they tread & prefs together with the Grape; but in the other Process the management is the same as of other Wines,

13, When the grapes are gathered, they must be carried in baskets to the Wine prefs to be trodden, and when the prefs is full they put other grapes in to a large Vessell, plac't on purpose near the Prefs, to supply it as it grows empty by Treading; the Prefs must have a hole with a close grating, for the pure wine to pass thro' into a vessell that stands under it, the grapes shou'd be trodden as soon as possible, for shou'd they lie but a very few days they would heat & ferment, by which means it wou'd be uneasy to the men, for it wou'd flea off the Skin from their Legs, besides the inconvenience of having some of the grapes perish, which wou'd do no good to the wine as I beleive is experienced in the making of Syder

14, As the receivers grow full with the must from the Prefs, they carry it away and fill their Casks & large Jarrs, within a foot of the bungs or Mouths, covering them only with boards or the like, to keep out Vermin from falling into them

15, After the must has been 2 or 3 days in the Vessells the Spaniards use generally a sort of Chalk or Lime stones called Yesso, which they pound to powder of which they take 1, 2, or more Porringers full, according to the gage of their Vessell, & put them into the must, & with a long stick or Cane they stir it well together, this is repeated Morning & evening for 2 or 3 days, & then it shou'd stand to boil, purge & purify the must, & it will refine & force to the bottom all the grosser Sediments,

16. The Spaniards for the better preserving & securing the Wines, not bought up by strangers, especially those which they design to Ship of for the West Indies; they have a Furnace, large Panns, or Kettles, which they fill up with must, and boil up to the consistence of Treacle, then they pour it out into coolers (which they call Arope) & when 'tis cold they cask it

up, & keep it for their use, they take 2 or 3 Gallons of this & put it into their new or Old Wine (but it works & mixes best with New) immediately after the fermentation, which gives them a stronger body, & enables them to endure the hot Seasons, & the tumbling of so long a Voyage but this Unctious Liquor tingeth the wine with a deep brown Colour.

17, They make a Beveridge for the Country Labourers after this manner, when the Grape is prest & all the must run out, they take away the husks which by treading are hard caked, these they break into small Pieces, and throw them into the Press, and pour in such a Quantity of water as discretion directs, this they let stand infusing 24 Hours, after which they tread it well over again, & draw it off as they did the Wine and cask it up, but this Beveridge will not keep a Year, unless it be strength'n'd with some of the boil'd wine,

18, And lastly in the Month of March immediately following the vintage, you are to draw or rack off all your new Wines into other Casks and Vessells which you are to fix in the Vaults & Cellers where you design they shall lye, for in this Month the Vines begin to bud forth, which sympathize so far with the Wines as to set them in a fermentation, which soon is over, & makes them fine for the racking

Note, that the trenches of your Vineyard must be dug quite thro' the same depth that the Vines are planted; whether 2 or 3 feet,

The lower part of each plant must ly along the bottom of the trench, the Length of a foot or more, on which put your foot, & with your hand rear up the remaining part, which is to remain above the surface of the earth as was before directed; the plants ought to stand at an exact distance from each other, & always in rows

Mr Collifon concerning the Management of Vines.

Col^o Byrd,

IN my Letter last Year I gave you my thoughts on the management of Vines & a Vineyard but as that miscarried I shall now give you some general hints—

—A good situation is a very essential point to be considered in the choice of a Vineyard a gentle Declivity to the South is esteemed the best which more speedily carries off the water, which on a Flat is apt to stay long, & is very prejudicial, a Sandy gravelly dry soil is best, Juices produced from this, is stronger & better flavoured, than from a Low moist Situation

A good Shelter is very necessary & should be raised on all Sides but the South by raising plantations of Trees of the quickest growth as Hickory Locust, &c but on that side which is most exposed to the strongest Winds the Plantations must be made more formidable but let none be planted so near the Vines as to drip upon them

In Planting there is various Methods according to Country & Clymate some set the Vines 3 or 4 foot from each other & the Rows 6 Foot asunder others plant 6 foot asunder on every Side, We give more Room because we want the Sun's heat, & expose our Fruit by degrees, but with you where the Sun is vastly hotter, it will require more Shade & Shelter from its fervour, For if the Fruit be exposed to its Heat, it is soon welted & Withered,

In pruning these general Rules are principally observed, to keep a succession of wood on the Vine,

The Branches of the first Year's Shoot growing from the Old Stock are to a Strong Stake placed in the Center of the Plant & in the Spring following in January or February the Branches are to be cut down to 2 or 3 Buds

And these Buds when they Shoot the 2^d Year produce each 2 or 3. Branches, which are again to be carefully tied up to the Stake in the Center, & when they have attain'd to the Height of 4 or 5 Foot top them & if they shoot again top them above the Joint of the last Shoot, & keep them topping till they've done Shooting, but always be carefull to leave Spare Budds on the top of the Branch to divert the Sap, for if the Branch is strip't close & bare, & no top branch or buds left, the consequence will be that the bearing Budds will Shoot in the Autumn instead of the next Spring, & the Crop be lost

The Branches that are of the 2^d Years Shoot which is bearing Wood rarely fails of bearing fruit when they are prun'd in the 3^d Spring are to be left 3 or 4 or 5 Foot according to the Strength Vine & conveniency of spreading & when they have done bearing are to be cut off near to the Stem to make Room for a Succession of bearing Wood, for unless there was this management there would be no keeping the Vine within compass & the Vineyard with Regularity,

I come next to consider in what manner to advise you in ripening the Fruit and to prevent the miscarriage you mention, which I apprehend proceeds from the bunches being too much exposed to the Sun, & being too near the Ground cou'd not bear so strong a reflection.

To remedy this & adapt a method suitable to your climate, I propose that you practice the Method used in Spain & Italy, that is by raising the Stem of the Vine to 2 or 3 Foot high & keeping them prun'd to that height & spread the bearing branches of the 2^d Years produce from the Center of the plant, which will give room for the Buds in the Center to Shoot for next Year's Wood, & are to be carefully tied up which will prevent their Shading or annoying the Branches that have the Fruit that Year, which may run either East & West or North & South, which you find succeed best on strong forked Sticks

2 or 3 to each Branch & the distance between the Rows of Sticks juſt enough for the Leaves to ſpread, if the Branches are tied faſt between the Forks it will bear the Fruit the better & better reſiſt the Winds,

Raiſe the Sticks or Stage to the height of 3 or 4 foot or higher that there may be room to keep the Ground clear of Weeds underneath, this method will create a Shade on the Ground & prevent too Strong a Reflection & Leaves will naturally riſe on the top & Shade the Fruit which be carefull to preſerve but Suffer no Branches or Leaves to grow underneath to Incumber the fruit & prevent the free circulation of Air & ſtiſle the Fruit, And I apprehend the more you cover the Ground provided the Fruit hangs clear It will ripen the better,

Prune the bearing Branches that are tied down on the Sticks in this manner, as ſoon as the Buds have ſhot Branches ſo long that the Branches appear top them at the Joynt above the laſt Bunch & if the Bud at the Joynt Shoot top that & ſo keep them top all the Seaſon of Shooting, which will ſtrengthen & enlarge the Fruit & more ſap will flow to the Branches that riſe in the Center which are for fruit the next Year & theſe being tied up to the Stake & lop'd to a regular Height & the bearing branches being kept regular check't below the whole Vine will appear regular & uniform. Experience will teach you to improve theſe Hints I had almoſt forgot the principal thing & that is what Sort of Grape generally ſucceed beſt in a Vineyard, and that is all Cluster Grapes & thoſe that bear thin ſcattering Bunches, for the heat ſoon penetrates them & ſoon dries up the Rain dews & the Wind has not ſo ſtrong an effect on them but try all Sorts & Judge for yourſelf I wou'd further recommend to your obſervation another very common Method abroad

And that is according to the old Poetick Phraſe marrying Elms with Vines which is celebrated by Virgil in his Georgicks, & many other natural writers perhaps it may ſucceed very well with

you especially those Sorts of Vines that bear great bunches & large fruit whose weight requires a better Support than Stakes

If you please to remember you'll find instances of this Nature in most parts of your Colony, Your wild Vines lay hold on every Side with the wild Trees for their Support, Query, if the best Sort of your wild Grapes were well cultivated whether they would not yeild better Fruit, & ripen sooner & make a pretty Wine, being Natives perhaps they may be better adapted to your Seasons, than Foreigners, was I in your Country I shou'd try the Experiment

I will close this long relation with an Observation of a very curious Gentleman Mr Charles Dubois who in his Travels thro' the South parts of France & Spain was very agreeably entertained in their Gardens from variety of Fruits growing together Being regularly planted with Cherries Apples & Pears and against every Tree grew a Vine which run up into the Tree and was supported by its Branches, & when he was there, was plentifully hung with Fruit, and ripen'd to great perfection and a moderate Skill in pruning served

The better to illustrate the Method of pruning which is the principal piece of management in order to have good fruit and a full Crop, I have enclosed a rough Sketch for your Observation, I am perswaded we are now both tired the best reason to conclude

With my best Wishes for Success in all your Endeavours

Y^{rs} P COLINSON.

No 1. Supposes an Old Vine pruned close, from whose Old Wood,
Shoots Young Branches

No 2, Represents the same Vine pruned the first Year

No 3, Represents the same Vine Shot from the first Year's pruning
which we call second Year's Wood, which always produces fruit,

No 4 Represents the same Vine with the Wood of the 2^d Year's
produce spread Horisontally from the Center of the Vine, for bearing
and tied to forked Sticks, which both support Branch & fruit, but 'tis to
be supposed tho' not here express'd that there is on the same Vine,
Branches of Junior Growth which is to succeed the Wood that hath born
fruit which is cut close off every Year to make room for new bearing
Wood of the Second Year's Growth

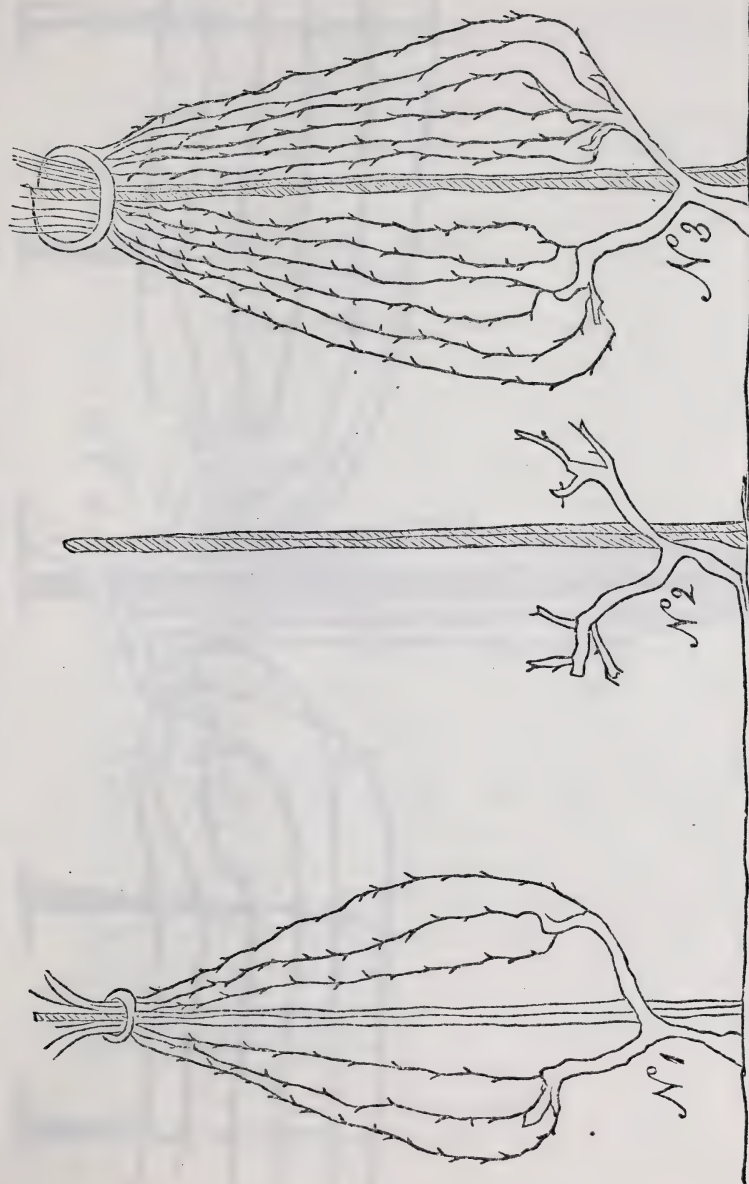


Figure of Pruned Vines.

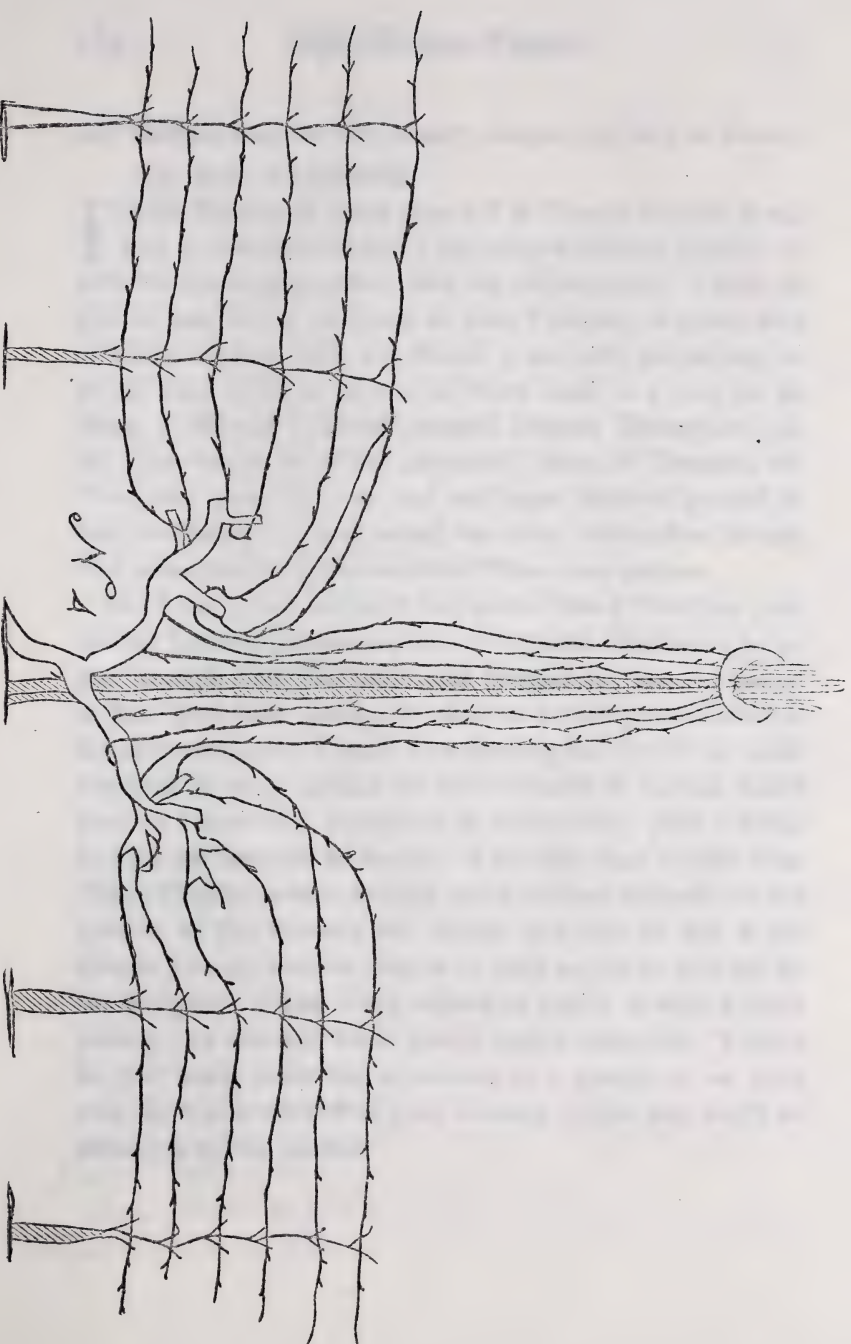


Figure of Thinned Vines.

Mr Collinson about our own Country Grapes most likely to Thrive.

Col^o Byrd, Kind Friend

I'D the Pleasure of yours June 14^h & Captain Boswell, & am glad to find mine contain'd any thing worth you Notice, I wish the success may answer both our expectations, I shall be glad to hear of the prosperity of your Vineyard, & which Sort of Grape succeeds best, why should it not with you as well as at the Cape of Good Hope, but there must be a time for all things & different Climates required different Management, at the Cape where the Wind perpetually blows a Tempest, the Vines with great Care are run on Stages close the ground, & kept constantly tied and indeed the pains they bestow is very well recompenced by the excellent Wines they produce

But I am yet of the mind that at the time a Year that your natural Country Grapes are ripe if a person that was a Judge was to mark those that were most Elegant for Size & Flavour & soon after take cuttings & plant in a fresh generous Soil & regularly cultivated, I can't help thinking but they'd be much improv'd & being natural to your Climate & Seasons would produce better than Foreigners & perhaps may yeild a Wine peculiar for Strength & flavour, I had this Year a letter from North Carolina where amongst many curious remarks on the produce of that Country the Author says that he saw & eat Grapes growing wild, as large & as good as any he ever eat up the Streights, I hope I may depend on him, if so what a noble produce that province would yeild if rightly cultivated, I cou'd be glad you'd make the experiment of a quarter of an Acre with the best & choicest of your Country Grapes that wou'd be enough to see the produce

Mr Collinson about Plumbs, Apricots, &c & to prevent their Gummy.

Col^o Byrd

I HOPE you have received mine of November 18 relating to a vineyard, as you directed I carried it to Mr Perry's I come now to make good my promise therein, and to propose some methods to prevent the gumming of Plumbs, Nectarines, & Apricots which is a general complaint in most of our Colonies, It is a great misfortune that you are deprived tasting those Fruits in their highest perfection & is ver surprizing it should happen so with you for I always imagin'd your climate much happier than ours, in perfecting delicate Fruit, being nearer the latitude of their Original Countrys,

I'm at a loss how to prevent this Accident & has taken me up a pretty deal of thought about it & perhaps to little purpose, But if I may presume to give you my conjecture on the cause of it, I apprehend it to be this, In the Summer Months when these fruits are drawing to ripeness, the weather with you proves excessive hot & close which both enlarges the Vessells & thins the Juices, which occasion too quick a discharge, In this State the Tree perspires faster than supplies can be collected from the Root, the Fruit is in a manner left destitute grows shriveled, Tough & insipid, the little supplies that are afforded are the very vitals of the Tree, The Texture of the Vessels being broke by the too great Extension the Juices spend on the Surface of the Fruit which being coagulated by the heat of the Sun, acquire the consistence of Gum

Whether this is a reasonable conjecture I must leave to your penetrating Judgement to determine but the Effects are plain My next consideration is how to prevent them.

1st I apprehend to graft or Bud Plumbs, Nectarines, & Apri-

cots on peach stocks may be a pretty likely means to prevent this disaster

For it being a very free stock conveys & collects its Juices very plentifully for the support of its Fruit. It is not to be doubted but all the three kinds will take on it, being all Stone Fruit & frequently grafted on one another

2 It may be with good Success to raise these kinds from their own Kernals perhaps they may thrive better from their own Original Stocks than by being budded or grafted on others

3 I wou'd advise to plant all these kinds on the Brinks or Sides of constant running Brooks that they may never want a Supply of moisture in dry weather which may be a means always to keep their Vessels full which will keep the Fruit Plump & so in a fair way to come to maturity

4 I wou'd propose some method to check or abate the force of the Sun's Action on the Body of the Tree during the Fruits ripening which may be done by tying green Moss very thick round the Stem of the Tree on the South side from the Top to the Bottom & by laying a Quantity of it or wet Straw on the Surface to abate the Sun's Action on the Roots, possibly by keeping the Vessels cool may prevent too great a Secretion & keep the Juices from being exhausted.

5 It may be of good Service to prune close all old Trees which have been spent by Length of time & great Bearing. This will give a check to the Sap & invigorate the Tree, & from their new Wood you may expect good Fruit for 3 or 4 Years & when spent Lop them again. Very possibly from these imperfect Hints your Sagacity may collect some method to correct the Imperfection In these Fruits, If I am so happy as to be any ways assistant in this affair, it will be a Singular pleasure to your sincere Friend

P COLLINSON

I have consulted further relating to the Vineyard & it is a

general Opinion You must set the Vines so close as to cover the Ground when their leaves are extended in the Summer

MR^S OTWAY'S RECEIPTS FOR CLARY & CHERRY WINES.

To make Clary Wine.

TAKE 25 Quarts of Spring Water, 25 Pounds of Raisins of the Sun, pick'd & Shred let the water boil half an hour & when it is luke warm, pour it on the raisins with a peck of Clary when in Flower shred, before it is quite cold set it a working with some ale-yeast, let it stand 8 or 9 days close covered with a Blanket, stir it once a day then strain it off, & put it up in a small Vessel, let it stand 9 or ten weeks then you may Bottle it off, you may make what Quantity you will by this Receipt it will be very good & keep long.

To make Cherry Wine.

TAKE the best English Cherrys when they are full ripe, pick them from the Stalks, then mash them all in an open Tub. take out a Quarter of the Stones, run the Liquor out of them thro' a hair bagg into a Tubb, then break the Stones you have taken out in a great Mortar, & put them to the strain'd Liquor, lay a stick across, cover it close, so let it stand 3 days stirring it every day, then press it out & put it into a Vessel, & let it stand a week, then draw off from the Lees and put it up again, put to every Gallon a pound & half of the best 6^d Sugar, & let it stand till it is very fine then bottle it off, if there is too much Lee you must draw it off a Second time from one Vessel to another before it is bottled, if you knew how much your Tub holds it is best to put your Sugar in for so it mixes best.

If you add to every twelve Twelve Gallons eight or ten pounds of black Cherrys it makes the Wine better.

Mrs Shuts Receipt for making Birch Wine.

SET your Birch Trees a running the beginning of March, when you have got your Quantity of Liquor, measure it & set it to boil a little, & Scum it, then put to every Gallon of Liquor Two pounds & a quarter of the best Lisborn Sugar, Let it Boil half an hour, Scum it clean, then take it off the fire & put it to cool, When it is settled pour it off from the Dregs, put it together with Barm as you do Ale, when you think it cool enough; Let it work three or four days, then put it into the Vessel, and stop it up close keep it cool, & Bottle it the October following.

Mrs Blackistons Receipt for making Elder Wine.

TAKE fix Gallons of Water: fix pounds of Raisins of the Sun, stoned & cut, ten pound of white Powder Sugar, boil them altogether an hour, then take the flowers of Elder when they are full blown and ready to fall off rubb off Slightly the Quantity of a Quarter of a Peck, & put them in when the Liquor is almost cold, a day after take about a Quarter of the Liquor and beat into it fix spoonfulls of the Sirrup of Lemmons, two days after put it into a Vessel which will just hold it, at Six Months End Bottle it off, if fine.

Duchesse of Lorraine's Receipt for making Soupe.

BOUILLON Sec ou portatif tres Commode et Utile surmer a L'Armée, et en Voyage. Prenez deux vieux Chapons ou Cogs, Concassés en les Os sans endommager la Chair; huit Livres de Boeufmaigre, de L'Eschine ou dunautre bonendroit, avec un Os de Moelle, et undemy pied de veau,

mettez le tout ensemble dans un pot de terre bien vernissé, mettez y de L'Eau suffisamment, faites le cuire auprès du feu, écumez le bien, ajoutez y une piece de Gingembre, vingt Grains de poivre, Fruit Cloux de Girofle ; trois grandes pieces de fleur de muscade, deux feuilles de Laurier, continuez a le cuire a petit feu, sans flamme, pendant huit ou dix heures otez en petit a petit toute la graisse, passez le bouillon par une serviette, et pressez en le Jus de la Viande le mieux que vous pourriez, faites reposer ce que vous avez passé pendant la Nuit, otez en le lendemain La Graisse, qu'il sera figée sur le bouillon, mettez le dit Bouillon dans un petit pot de Terre bien vernissé, faites le cuire sur un petit feu, jusqu'à ce qu'il s'épaississe comme un Syrop, coulez de alors dans des plats de Fayence, mettez ces plats sur du Sable Chaud, pour le Secher doucement : pendant trois ou quatre Jours, le Sable ne doit pas être trop chaud, car au lieu de Secher il dissoudrait la matiere, quand l'humidité en sera évaporée d'une bonne partie, et que la matiere commencera a s'épaissir comme la colle, vous le couperez en dix ou douze pastilles, remettez les Pastilles dans des Plats de Fayence, & en les tournant d'un jour a l'autre, vous les ferez entièrement secher et conserver pour L'Usage En cas que vous vouliez avoir une bonne Soupe ou bouillon, prenez de L'Eau autant qu'il vous en faut, mettez y du pain, et un peu de Sel, faites le mitonner sur un rechaud, et faites y dissoudre une de vos pastilles, en la remuant avec une Caillière d'Argent, vous aurez une bonne Soupe ou bouillon pour votre Usage.

Il y a seulement a remarquer, que quand ces Bouillons doivent servir pour des Malades, ou des Blessés, que la Doze des Epices doit être diminuée dans la Composition, suivant L'Avis des Medecins.

*The Method used in Cornwall in making Earthen Floors for
Malt Houses.*

TAKE Lime Ashes, (or the Course Part of Lime) and about $\frac{1}{8}$ part as much great Sand (or Fine Gravel) make them with Water into the Thickness of mortar or a little thinner

Break up the Ground & lay on the Mixture evenly, about 3 Inches thick and as it dries if any Cracks appear, beat it with a Beetle as often as you see Occasion, till it is hard. The Lime prevents the Flower from growing damp, in wet weather, and it will last for many Years, but more, or less according as 'tis made use of

To cure Mistletoe of the Oak.

THE best time is in the Months of December and January, the harder the weather is, the finer is the Mistletoe & full of white Berries, you must gather the Small Twiggs not bigger than the small end of a Tobacco Pipe, which when done you must pull off all the White Berries by reason they will not dry so well, when you have so done, put the Small Twiggs & Leaves all together over a Baker's Oven, or in some hot Kitchen, but not near the Fire, & when quite dry, you may put it in a box with some whited Brown Paper, & likewise the Berries by themselves when thorow dry, about 15 or 20 Pounds Weight is enough

MR CATESBY'S RECEIPT TO PICKLE STURGEON & MAKE CAVIER.

To pickle Sturgeon.

LET the fish when taken cool on the ground 24, 36 or 48 Hours as the Weather will permit, then cut it in pieces, & throw it into clean Water, shifting the Water several times,

whilst it is soaking wash and brush it with hard Brushes til it be very clean, which it will be in two or three Hours, And then you may tie it up with Bafs and Boyl it; Put in Somewhat more Salt than in boiling other Fish, Skim it well and boil it very softly, til it be tender, an hour, or an hour and a half or 2 hours according to the Age of the Fish And then let it cool very well, And put it into pickle, The Pickle must be made of Beer Vinegar $\frac{5}{8}$ th & $\frac{3}{8}$ of the Broth it was boiled in mixed together & salt the Pickle very well with unbeat Salt somewhat more than will make a fresh Egg swim, put the Fish in the Kettle when the water is cold and the Fat must be taken off very well

To make Caviar.

AS soon as the Sturgeon is catch't rip up the Belly & take out the Row, and cut it as near as you can Flake by Flake as under, And Salt it with good Spanish Salt extraordinary Sharp putting it into a Basket, & there let it lye at least Six Weeks, & then take it out and wash off the Salt well then lay it on Boards in the Sun so thin as that it may soon dry on both Sides, It must be turn'd but care must be taken that it be not too hard dried but that you may pack it close, And as you pack it take out all the thick Skins, in which you must be very nice. And when 'tis pack't very close You must then take some heavy Weights and lay upon it that it may be pressed very hard, then it will be as close as a Cheefe to keep for use

*The Address of the House of Burgesſes for making War upon the
Tuskarora Indians;*

To the Hon^{ble} Alexander Spotſwood, her Majeſty's Liev^t
Governor of Virginia

WHE her Majeſty's moſt loyal & dutifull Subjects the Burgeſſes met in Aſſembly, been deeply ſenſible of the horrid Murders, Barbarities, & Hoſtilities lately committed upon her Majeſty's Subjects in North Carolina, by certain Indians of the Tuskarora Nation, & duly conſidering the Dangers which daily threaten the Inhabitants this Colony from that Nation humbly entreat your Honour, as well for the defence & Security of this Country, as for doing right to our injured Neighbours, that you will be pleaſed to declare War againſt thoſe Tuskarora Indians their Adherents & Abettors, & to enter into ſuch treatys & alliances with the Government of North Carolina, or any other Government as for that purpoſe to your Honour ſhall ſeem proper, And being ſenſible that the Succeſs of ſuch undertakings, under the divine favours & Goodneſs, will in great meaſure depend on Proviſion to be made ſuitable thereunto, & beg leave to aſſure your Honour that we will exert ourſelves to the utmoſt in giving ſuch timely ſupplies as ſhall be ſufficient to enable your honour effectually to perform, & make good your Treaties & Alliances, as alſo to proſecute & finiſh the ſaid War to the Honour of her Majeſty, & the ſafety & wellfare of her Subjects, and if your Honour ſhall think fit to denounce War we pray you will be pleaſed to lay before Us an Eſtimate of the Charge of carrying on that Service for 6 months that thereby we may convert proper Meaſures for raiſing a Fund ſufficient to Answer the intended deſign,

*The Governor's Answer to the Addreſs of the Houſe of Burgeſſes
for making Warr againſt the Tufcarora Indians.*

Mr Speaker,

And Gentlemen of the Houſe of Burgeſſes

I AM very glad that in this extraordinary conjuncture, I have the Opportunity of conferring with the Representatives of the People, whoſe diſpoſition I wou'd ever conſult in the making of Peace or War, In either Caſe, I ſhall conſtantly endeavour to give you proofs that I have nothing more at heart than to ſerve this Country.

I heartily thank you for the aſſurance you give me of ſufficient & timely ſupplies, if there be no other means left, to right our injur'd Neighbours & ſecurity of ourſelves but by Warr, I ſhall ſoon lay before you the moſt frugal eſtimate of the Charge thereof, that I am capable of making

The Governor's Second Speech to the Houſe of Burgeſſes.

Mr Speaker

And Gent. of the Houſe of Burgeſſes,

SOME late Intelligence of the wicked deſign of the Hea- then, makes me the more earneſt to paſs this Law for the Rangers, be deſirous to ſecure the Country as much as in me lies, & not to let it ſuffer for any juſt reſentment I might have, to ſee no meaſures muſt be render'd effectual but ſuch as have their firſt riſe from your Houſe,

It is now near two months ſince this Seſſion began, & hitherto has your Houſe prepared ſcarce three Bills fit for me to paſs, Nor do I yet find that you offer to answer one Single Paragraph of thoſe matters I recommended to you in my Speech, beſides I can't but take notice of your Silence to my written Meſ-

fages, and even to some of more than a Twelvemonth's Date, which undecently appears upon your Journals, yet to be considered, tho' I'm sure no man that has observed how you have spent your Hours, will say that you have wanted time for this purpose; but I am more surprized at the incongruous proceedings of your House, when after you have by a solemn Address, and resolution, assured me of timely and Sufficient supplies for carrying on a War, & making Treaties, you will offer no other Bills than one, which cannot be pass'd, for its unusual & extraordinary Nature, untill a Draught thereof be first laid before her Majesty, and should I venture to pass it, yet it wou'd not raise one penny in time nor one third of what you yourselves have judged barely requisite for the Expedition You have hitherto declined All Measures, that might make your Militia usefull, or put your Country in a reasonable posture of Defence

Your late proceedings upon the Book of Claims, must hinder every Body from aiding the State in its exigency, for after the treatment which some Creditors are like to meet with in your House, what man will disburse one Shilling for the Publick, to be reimburs't at your pleasures, or who will perform any service upon the faith of a Law, if Acts of Assembly are to be observed according to the Humour of your House, In short I am amazed at your proceedings seeing this is the present Situation of Affairs

The Heathen are destroying her Majesty's Subjects & ranging your Neighbourhood, fresh discoveries encrease my suspicion of their bloody designs on this Colony, Sword, Pestilence, Famine & discord rages so much in North Carolina, that neither a Council or an Assembly can be found to take any measures to prevent the intire desolation of that Province

Your Militia will not be commanded out upon the Publick Service at their own Charges, nor can they fight without Arms & Ammunition.

And if you will not enable me to provide timely and effectually, for the Security of this Government, & for the recovery of the next, the consequence may be very fatal, but must certainly ly at your door

To the Hon^{ble} Alexander Spotswood her Majesty's Lieut Governor of Virginia

WE the Burgesses having with great seriousness considered the speech delivered by your Honour to the House the 19th Instant, do render you our thanks for the Care & regard you are pleased to express, for the safety of this Country, Yet cannot without deep concern reflect on the resentment your Honour hath conceived at the proceedings of this Session, We beg leave to assure your Honour no motives have prevailed with this House, to prefer any Bill for your Assent, but hath proceeded from a just regard of our bounden duty to our most gracious Queen, and the welfare & Safety of her Subjects, and where the security of the Country, and Interests of the People, are so much concerned, as necessarily to require the raising of Money, We with all submission take it to be the undoubted right of this House, that Acts of this Nature, ought to have their foundation from us, We acknowledge that we have been assembled here Six Weeks, part of which time hath been taken up in preparing such Laws, & representation of the greivances of the People, and as on due consideration we thought proper & convenient to be enacted and if the latter part of this Session hath been wasted, in attending for Bills sent up by this House to their Honours of the Council for their concurrence, we hope it may be attributed to the effect of disagreeing, than of our want of duty to our Sovereign, or the People werepresent; We have had under our consideration the providing of Fortifications for the better Security of this Colony recommended to us in your Honour's Speech

at the Opening of this Session, and in regard of the duty given already for that purpose, and humbly conceiving such works are not of great use to this Country, but more especially considering the extraordinary expence of the Publick at this time did not think it proper to make any resolutions therein. We likewise have considered the proposals made by your Honour, for fitting a place for careening Ships, and for the reasons last mentioned are of Opinion the same can't be well effected, at this time, We have not been unmindfull of the State of the Clergy recommended unto us by your Honour, and are humbly of Opinion that the Laws now in being have made sufficient provision for the maintainance of the Gentlemen of that Profession. In pursuance of the recommendation of your Honour's speech, we have provided a Bill for Erecting a publick Goal, for Debtors to be committed to by the General Court, to which the Council have agreed. It was by the representation of the State of Affairs in North Carolina laid before this House by your Honours together with the Sence we had of the Dangers approaching this Colony, from the Indian Enemy, that we were induced to address ourselves to your Hon^r to proclaim War & to come to a resolution of assuring you, of timely & sufficient supplies to carry on the same & to make treaties, & we humbly conceive by the way proposed, by the Bill for granting to her Majesty certain Duties, we have provided sufficient means for enabling your Hon^r to effect the same, and if that Bill be of such an extraordinary Nature, that we can't obtain your Hon^{rs} Approbation, we must acquiesce under that misfortune, The affairs of the Militia is what the House always esteem'd of the greatest Importance, & was ever desirous of concerting measures with your Hon^r proper to render them more usefull, but considering the emergent Occasions for raising of money at this time for carrying on the War against the Indians, & believing, by raising an Army for that Service, some of the Terms proposed by regulating the

Militia Forces wou'd be answered, we did judge it more proper to wait the event of that War, before we entered upon the regulation in which we think it proper to conſider of a method for providing Arms & Ammunition for the poorer ſort of people, and of the matter relating to the Quakers; The Method this Houſe hath taken for examining the demands of publick Creditors is Grounded upon the Law which entitles Creditors to their Claims, & Agreeable to the Rules our predeceſſors the Burgeſſes have conſtantly gone by, This Houſe is of Opinion, ſuch claims hath not been without the intent & direction of that Law, & ſuch claimants can't with reaſon reflect on the Juſtice of this Houſe. for not allowing a demand not warranted by Law. We have conſidered the propoſitions projected by your Honour for the Aſſiſtance of the College in maintaining the Indian Hoſtages, but did defer taking any reſolution thereupon, till we cou'd ſee the ſucceſs of the Duty Bill with the Council upon which that matter did in ſomeſort depend.

We have declined coming to any reſolution upon the meſſage ſent to this Houſe by your Hon^r the 27th of Nov, 1710 relating to the dividing of Counties & Pariſhes, becauſe we would endeavour to avoid all Controverſies with the Royal prerogative, altho' that Power hath been always exerciſ'd by the Legiſlative Authority The ſettlement of the Poſt Office in this Colony, recommended to us in the meſſage from your Hon^r at our laſt Seſſion, we think it ſufficiently eſtabliſh't by an A&t of Parliament of Great Britain.

May it pleaſe your Hon^r

Nothing leſs than the deplorable State of our Fellow Subjects of North Carolina join'd with the juſt apprehenſions of the dangers hanging over our heads, from the common Enemy could ever have prevail'd with this Houſe to have made a reſolution to raiſe 20000£ at a time when our Staple Commodity will hardly afford neceſſaries for the ſupport of the People, &

our present Funds have prov'd in a great measure deficient, in pursuance of which resolution this House did apply themselves with all Affiduity to find out ways to raise that Sum in such manner as might be most agreeable to her Majesty & least burdensome to her People, And when we had past a Bill for levying that Money & provided a competent Sum might be borrowed upon Interest for the more speedy carrying on that Service for which it was intended, & least the Funds on which the money propos'd to be raised, shou'd prove deficient had engaged the Publick Faith of this House to supply what shou'd be wanting of that Sum, & had pray'd her Majesty to accept thereof, & made humble Suit to your Hon^r that the Bill might pass, We did beleive, we had perform'd our Duty to our Queen, & the People we represent, & if any misfortune shou'd befall this Country (which God avert) for want of that Succour which we desire to give, we are humbly of Opinion that it cannot justly be laid to our Charge.

A Proposal to the General Assembly by Mr Byrd.

WHEREAS the Clergy of this Colony have hitherto been paid their Salary in Tobacco, which falls abundantly Short of yielding the Value of 80£ ^{per} Annum which the Law intended them & yet the Levy which raises that Tobacco is very Burdensome to the poor Freeholders of this Dominion, it is therefore humbly propos'd that the said Ministers be hereafter paid in Current Money & that a further Duty of three Shillings be laid upon every Hhd, of Tobacco exported to defray that Charge for the following reasons Viz.

1 Because the said Duty of 3/ ^{per} Hhd, will at least as easy to the exporters as it is at present ; For supposing, for example, a Planter have 3 Titheables who with himself make 4000^{lbs} of good Tobacco one year with another which he puts into 5

Hhds, and those will pay 15*s* to this additional Duty: & supposing that now for himself & 3 titheables, at 75 lbs of Tobacco & Poll he pays 300^{lbs} for the Parish Levy; I leave any man to judge if it be not as easy for him to pay 15*s* as 300^{lb} of Tobacco of his own Crop.

2 It will totally ease the poorer sort of Freeholders, & others who dont export any Tobacco out of this Colony.

3 It will mend the price of our Tobacco in England, by lessening the Quantity of Trash which is now pack't up, because tis thought good enough for the Parson

4. It will create a great currency of Money in the Country, for then the Parsons will have Cash to pay to the Carpenters, Smiths, or other Artisans or Labourers that work for them, & they again will lay it out with the Merchants by which means Cash & consequently trade will circulate very briskly.

5 It will be a means of having able ministers come over for the present, & hereafter will encourage the Gentlemen of the Country to breed up their Sons at the Colledge in hopes of having a genteel provision for them, whenever they become fit for it.

It will give the Clergy more leisure to apply themselves to the duty of their Function, whereas now both their time & their thoughts are too much taken up in Collecting managing & Shipping their Tobacco & besides it will beget in the common People a great Love for their Ministers when they beleive them to be no charge or burden to them.

May it please y^r Hon^r

AS the constant Civilities your Hon^r has on all Occasions expref't to the Council raises in us a suitable degree of Gratitude, so the experience we have of your Justice & Modera-

tion makes us hope you will not be displeased with this our Just & necessary representation.

It was not without some uneasiness to us that were present, to find in the last Commission of Oyer & Terminer some other Persons join'd with the Council, but in regard no Criminal was then to be tried, & because we were unwilling to shew a publick disapprobation of what you had then been pleased to determine, we thought it most respectfull to your Hon^r not to absent ourselves, However we must now beg Leave in a decent & we hope more agreeable manner to make our exceptions to such Commission, & we hope you will not think it altogether without reason

When your Honour was pleased to cause her Majestys Instructions to be read in Council relating to this matter, & after some debates had arisen about it, you was pleased to declare (if those that were present remember rightly) that you had no intention to appoint any other person but the Council in that Commission, And if it should be otherwise we beseech your Hon^r to reflect, how much the general Court will be divested of its Jurisdiction, which is not only founded upon the late Law but also upon the common usage of this Dominion, no Instance being upon record that any other stated Court of Judicature, hath the Cognisance of Life & Member but the general Court only; and with humble Submission there is great reason it should be so, for it would be hard that Men's Lives shou'd be try'd by more inferior Judges than their Fortunes, of which the last resort in this Country is in the gen^l Court. Tho' we have the most intire confidence in your Honour's Justice and do firmly beleive that in all things you will act according to the nicest Rules of Integrity & Honour, yet in times to come it may be our misfortune in your stead to have a Governor who may make a very bad use of this precedent, In such a Case we submit it to your Honour's

penetration, how much less Security men's Lives and Liberties will be under than their Estates whenever it shall please God for the punishment of this Country, to put it under the direction of a resenting & passionate Governor. It is possible some may object that in England, other Gentlemen are frequently added to the Judges in the Commissions of Oyer and Terminer, in their Circuits thro' the several Countys, and also that in this Country some Commissions of this kind have been issued for the tryal of the Pirates & Indians in extraordinary Cases, to both these objections we beg leave to answer as follows.

We own the Judges in England do carry with them in their Circuits Commissions of Oyer & Terminer, wherein some Gentlemen of the respective County's are nam'd Associates with them, But this is purely for the ease of the Country, that Prisoners may be tried without the trouble of sending them up to the King's Bench, In the Circuits there is but one Judge to set on the pleas of the Crown, & therefore it may be thought necessary to join some other Persons in Commission with, but there is no instance of such an addition to the Judges when they set upon Life & Death in the King's Bench which they often do

Those Commissions which have issued in Virginia were sent out for tryal of very uncommon & enormous Crimes, but we humbly presume that such extraordinary Courts can't with much reason be compared to a settled Court that hath its constant return twice a Year, that holds its Sessions in the Metropolis of the Colony, & in the very seat of the general Court, & hath the cognizance of all breaches of the Peace as well as of Pleas that concern Life & member.

Since it has been insinuated to your Hon^r that in Council in advising the continuance of this Court had too much regard to the allowance granted for that purpose, we humbly beg leave to repeat the same explanation of our meaning that some of us

made use of at the time it was debated, to wit, that if we were oblig'd to leave our affairs at home & come & attend this Court, we had a fair claim to the Salary, but if your Hon^r would please to dispatch timely notice to us, that no Criminals are to be try'd, that then being put to no Trouble we should not expect any pay.

Upon the whole matter we entreat your Hon^r to observe, that when we were appointed Members of the Council we found this Jurisdiction confin'd only to the Judges of the general Court, and we should be unwilling that our Suceffors should reproach us with having willingly departed from it.

However we dont presume to measure the prerogatives of the Crown in such matters but humbly hope that Her Majesty will be graciously pleas'd to suffer such affairs to proceed in the usual method except where unusual accidents shall require an extraordinary exertion of her Royal Power.

However if your Hon^r shall see cause to be of a different Opinion, and shall still be pleas'd in these Courts to join other Persons with the Council, we humbly beg you will have the goodness to dispense with our attendance on such occasions for the future, And shall think ourselves very unfortunate in having Sentiments in this only business opposite to your Hon^{rs} being with all the respect and duty in the World Y^r Hon^{rs} most Faithfull and most humble Servants.

IN Obedience to the Directions of the Right Hon^{ble} Sidney Lord Godolphin Lord High Treasurer of England in the following Words. After my very hearty Commendation, whereas I have received Information from Francis Nickolson her Majesty's late Lieutenant & Governor General of Virginia that William Byrd Esq^r Receiver & Cashier of her Majesty's Revenues there is lately deceased and that an Accompt of the

Collections & Receipts to the 25th of October last had been laid before the Governor & her Majesty's Council by the Trustees of the said W^m Byrd whereby a Ballance of £7698, 9^s, 10^d appeared to be due to her Majesty, besides what may be owing by the said W^m Byrd from the time of making up his said Accompt. To the End therefore that a final Accompt of the said William Byrd may be forthwith made up & the Ballance accounted for to her Majesty. I hereby pray & desire you upon receipt hereof to call before you William Byrd Esq^r Son & Executor of the said William Byrd lately deceased and to cause him to produce unto you the Accompt of his said Father from the time of his First taking upon him the Collection & receipt of her Majesty's Duty's & Revenues to the time of his Death, which Accompts you are carefully to examine together with their respective Vouchers & to certify & transmit unto me your Observations thereupon in such Manner as may be most satisfying & conducing to the full & perfect Recovery of all money's which shall be found to have been due and owing to her Majesty from the said William Byrd deceased by reason of any Duty's & Revenues whatsoever to her Majesty belonging, and wherewith the said Byrd was chargeable at the time of his Death. and so I bid you very heartily Farewell, From the Treasury Chambers in Whitehall the 4th day of June 1705. Your very loving Friend

GODOLPHIN

To my very loving Friend Edward Nott Esq^r Her Majesty's Lieut, & Governor Generall and to her Majesty's Council of the Colony & Dominion of Virginia and to the Cheif Governor and Council thereof for time being

We have called before us us William Byrd Esq^r Son & Executor of the said William Byrd Esq^r late Auditor & Receiver general of Virginia who hath produced to us his Father's Accompts, from the time of his entering upon the said Office

(which was the 20th day of June 1688) to the day of his Death, It appears to us that a Ballance of £46, 4^s, 10¹/₂^d was due from his predeceſſor Nathaniel Bacon Eſq^r Auditor and Receiver General of Virginia but not paid unto him the ſaid William Byrd till the Year 1695 when there is Credit given for it in two Articles viz One in the Accompt of 2^d ^{of} Hhd & C fol. 7. And the other in the Accompt of the Quitrents. fol. 7. We find that the ſaid William Byrd received all her Maſteſty's Revenues Quitrents, Forfeitures, Compoſition for Eſcheats, Revenues of 2^d ^{of} Hhd & Port Duty's & C from the ſaid time of his entering upon his Office to the day of his Death which happened on the 4th day of December 1704 of all which his Son & Executor William Byrd Eſq^r, hath laid before us the Accompts, in two diſtinct Books, the one entituled an Accompt of Quitrents & C. The other entituled an Accompt of the Revenue of 2^d ^{of} Hhd, In the firſt of theſe Accompts the Late William Byrd is charged with the Receipt of all Quitrents & Compoſition for Eſcheats. The charge of the Quitrents hath been made out to us by the Rentrolls of the ſeveral Countys of Virginia under the hands of the reſpective Sheriffs of thoſe Counties from Year to Year, only there are wanting the particular Rentrolls of ſome Countys for ſome years as follows. Viz. Of Rappahannock County in 1690 & 1691. of Iſle of Wight in 1696. of Accomack in 1697 & 1699 of James City in 1698. of Gloceſter in 1700 & 1702. for want of which Rentrolls we could not exactly ſtate the Charge of the Quitrents of thoſe Years in the ſaid particular Countys. but by comparing them with the Rentrolls of the ſaid Countys in Other Years, We ſee no reaſon to induce us to ſuſpect that the Sum of thoſe Quitrents was any other than we find Accounted for by the ſaid William Byrd in the ſaid Accompts of Quitrents, As to the Compoſition of Eſcheats after the moſt diligent enquiry into the returns of Eſcheats into the Secretary's Office, we can find no

more Escheats nor any greater Composition for them than is here accounted for by the said William Byrd, We have likewise examined the disbursement for which the said William Byrd gives himself Credit upon the said Accompts of Quitrents and find that all those disbursements were duly made by Warrants from under the Hands of the respective Governors of this Country for the time being and in pursuance of Orders from the Lord high Treasurer or the Commissioners of the Treasury of England for the time being, and no otherwise, All which Warrants & Orders of Treasury together with the Receipts & endorsements of the Persons to whom the several Payments thereupon were made; We have duly inspected and find there was due to her Majesty from the said William Byrd, at the time of his Death upon the said Accompts of Quitrents & Composition for Escheats & C the Sum of 5745£, 10^s, 1^d Sterling, We have likewise examined the Accompts entituled an Accompt of her Majesty's Revenue of 2^d P^t Hhd, Port Dutys, & head Money, & C All which Dutys were raised & appropriated by Act of Assembly in the Country for the support of the Government & defraying the contingent charges thereof, & as to the Receipts of this Accompt we have seen sufficient Vouchers from the Accounts of the Naval Officers of this Country who collected the same, which Accompts of the Naval Officers have been yearly made up according to direction from time to time by the Government here & nothing appears to induce us to beleive that the said William Byrd received any more Money on that Accompt than he gives Credit to her Majesty for, We have likewise examined into the disbursements of that Revenue. and find that the usual Salarys to the Governor, Council, Auditor of Virginia Dutys, Sollicitor of the Virginia Affairs, Attorney gen^l, Clerk of the Council, & C have from time to time been duly paid, as appears by Warrants under the hands of the respective Governors for the time being, and endorsed by the

several Persons in this Country to whom those payments were made & ordered, whatever other payments are charged in this Accompt, we find that the said William Byrd had Warrants under the hands of the Governor for the time being, for them, & the said Warrants together with the Endorsement of the Persons to whom the several payments were ordered, have been produced before us, so that for any thing that appears to us there is nothing due to her Majesty from the Estate of the said William Byrd more than the sum of £1938, 16, 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ upon this Accompt of the Revenues & the abovemention'd Ballance on the Accompt of the Quitrents for which two Sums due at the Death of his Father & the Accrueing Dutys & Revenues to her Majesty the present Receiver General William Byrd the Son hath given good Security to be accountable.

The above Report was agreed on & prepared by the Late Governor & Council, but His Excellency dying before the same cou'd be sign'd by him is now humbly submitted to the Consideration of the Lord high Treasurer of England by

EDWARD JENNINGS Presid^t

PHILIP LUDWELL

DUDLEY DIGGS, ROB^t CARTER.

WILLIAM BASSETT

BEN HARRISON.

JAMES BLAIR.

HENRY DUKE

To the Right Hon^{ble} the Lords of the Council for Trade & Plantations

The Humble Representation of the Council of Virginia.

May it please your Lordships.

THE Plantations have reason to account themselves happy that her Majesty in her great Wisdom hath made choice of your Lordships to preside over their Affairs & to lay before her from time to time a true state of these remote parts of her Empire that the properest measures may be taken to render them usefull to Great Britain, & most happy to themselves, We

depend upon it very firmly that your Lordships are always very well pleased to receive such representations as tend to the Interest of our most gracious Queen, & the good of her People, & tis upon this Confidence my Lords that we presume to acquaint you, with the present unhappy Circumstances of this Colony with respect to the Tobacco Trade.

The great Disadvantage which that Trade hath for some Years lain under by reason of the heavy Duty's, have been sufficiently made out of late by the Merchants of England, it is more our province humbly to lay before your Lordships the wretched effects which the declension of that Trade hath had upon this Colony, It is most Evident that all the mischiefs which happen to the Sale of Tobacco fall either immediately or alternately upon the Planter. If he venture home his Tobacco at his own request & it yeilds nothing, or worse than nothing (which is frequently the Case) the loss lights directly upon the Planter, or if in distrust of the Market he sells it to the Merchant, & he lose by it, tis certain the next time he will afford the Planter little or nothing for his Tobacco. Thus either way he will not fail to be the looser and the Load at last must fall on those who had the misfortune to make it. We are sorry to acquaint your Lordships that is not only an Idle Speculation, or a consequence in prospect, but a melancholly Fact too often experienced by most of the Inhabitants of this Country Those who have Negroes for the most part have brought themselves in debt by continuing to plant Tobacco notwithstanding all the Industry & management they cou'd make use of. Nay those who have been most Industrious have taken most pains to be undone, Then as for the poorer People, who in spite of all discouragement have continued to work in this unprofitable Commodity they have every Year convinced themselves that their hardest Labour will not purchase Cloaths to cover their nakedness; While those, who had by repeated experiment been

disappointed of necessaries by planting Tobacco have fallen upon manufactures to cloath their nak'd Families, and succeeded so happily that they are the only part of the common People who are tolerably cloath'd, We need not use many Arguments to convince your Lordships how soon the rest will follow so easy an example, when the success of their Neighbours on one hand, & their own necessities on the other, will both persuade & drive them to it.

Now my Lords the certain consequence of this must be that except a speedy & effectual remedy be apply'd the unhappy Business of Planting Tobacco will dwindle every Year till it be altogether left off, People will not follow a Trade to their undoing, & tho' they have pursued it longer than any Body could expect under such cruel discouragements, yet when their distressed Families cry'd aloud upon them for necessaries, they must take the fittest method to relieve them, If Tobacco wont yield them sufficient to cloath them with the manufactures of Great Britain, they must apply themselves to manufactures of their own, to the utter neglect of Tobacco, the Trade of which must be intirely lost. And can it ever be for her Majesty's Service or for the Interest of her Subjects to drop a Trade so vastly beneficial as that of Tobacco; A Trade that every Year employs so many Ships, & is so fruitfull a nursery for Seamen: A Trade that sets so many poor People at work both in Great Britain & America: That occasions so great a demand Yearly of British Manufactures; and consequently so greatly improves the Value of the Land that produces those manufactures; and above all a Trade which so abundantly helps to Ballance the Commerce of Great Britain with foreign Parts, which wou'd otherwise every Year drain mighty Sums of Specie from thence. These my Lords are very Substantial Advantages & richly worth preserving & improving to the utmost. But your Lordships will agree that can't possibly be done, without care be taken that the

Planters, who are to make this usefull Commodity, may have a suitable return for their Labour. It can never be imagined that men will be content to work hard all the Year round except they can have some hopes it will produce necessaries for themselves & their Children.

This is not a Clymate that will suffer People to go naked, on the contrary the weather has very great excesses both of heat & Cold, And therefore if Tobacco will not furnish Cloathing to protect them from the injuries of the Clymate necessity must force them upon other measures, They have before their Eyes many instances of such of their Neighbours as have already succeeded in the attempt, Besides they have all possible encouragement from the kindly productions of the Country. Sheep thrive in it very tolerably, & since the late necessity's of the Inhabitants, have been greatly propagated.

Cotton grows in most places with little Labour, & great encrease, Flax & Hemp thrive no where more plentifully. Here are mighty numbers of Cattle, & other wild Creatures, to yield Leather of every Sort. Several parts of the Country produce rich Iron-Oar, which will admit of vast Improvements. In short my Lords here may be found materials of every kind to furnish conveniences of Cloathing, Tools & Household, neither is there wanting Tradesmen of all Sorts to improve these advantages to the highest upon the whole matter considering the Bounty of Nature in the aforesaid particulars, We cannot believe it hath been for the Interest of Great Britain that so great discouragements have been laid upon Tobacco, as to force the Planter in spite of his inclination to tast the sweet of so many other Improvements.

But since this hath so happened, there is now no way left to call People back to plant Tobacco, but to remove such hardships from the Trade as may make it worth the Planters while

to follow it, such encouragements at least should be allowed him therein, as that he may not be driven by necessity to follow employments much less for the benefit of Great Britain. If this be not speedily done, the Trade with all its mighty Advantages must be lost, And besides when the People here shall no longer depend on their mother Country for necessaries, they will by degrees cool in that warm affection towards it, for which they always most remarkably distinguish themselves.

Such my Lords is the unhappy Condition of this her Majesty's most loyal Colony of Virginia, and without Question Maryland labours under the same fever circumstances. The disease is indeed so dangerous, that calls aloud for a speedy & effectual Cure, However what that Cure must be, we dont presume to present; but most intirely submit it to your Lordships wisdom, whose perpetual Endeavours are employ'd for the service of her Majesty, & the prosperity of her Subjects

We have the Honour to be with the humblest respect

Your Lordships

most obedient & most humble Servants.

The Method of making Tar in Muscovy.

1 CHOICE being first made of the fattest Fir Trees, which are full of Turpentine,¹ they are bark'd in the Month of October from the bottom Eight foot high (except a Slip of 3 or 4 Fingers broad which is left on one² Side quite up) and in this Condition the Trees are to stand at least for a Year, if for two or three it is still better, The Turpentine settling in the mean time in the part that is bark'd.

2 When ready for use, the Tree is cut down generally in the Winter for the conveniency of Sledway, and the part which is

¹ Several Persons agree the Trees must be bark'd in October & not in the Spring.

² The Slips of Bark are to be left on the North Side.

bark'd is cut off, and carried to the place where 'tis design'd to burn. Split at full Lengths into Billets about the thickness of a man's Arm, and laid in Piles Six foot high, that a computation may be made of the Tar it will yield.

3 For the burning a Clay Ground is chosen, a Trench is made the wood piled up 30 or 40 Fathom more or less as there is provision, covered with Earth & the Fire kindled, just after the same Method as is used in burning Charcoal, If tis a loose or sandy Ground, the bottom of the Trench must be well plaster'd with Clay.

4 The Trench is made deepest in the middle, after the Form of a Shallow Trey, For the Tar which Sweats out of the Wood by the heat to settle and run off by a little Channel or drain made of Fir Bark under the Ground into a Hoghead or Tub, which is placed at some distance lower than the bottom of the Trench.

5 If the Weather is dry & calm that the wood burns slowly, it produces more and better Tar than if it is windy and burns fast, if it be wet or damp weather the Tar will be watry, and in that¹ Case, must be seperated & cleaned afterwards.

6 Store of Casks must be ready to barrel the² Tar, as fast as tis made.

7 A Fathom of Wood at full Length, six foot broad & as

¹ Tis clean'd only by tapping the Cask at the end or on the Side, & letting it Stand a night & the Water will gather there & run off.

² The Russians have a method of preserving theirs in large Chambers which are dug into the Sides of a mountain on the Lake of Ladoga. The bottom, Sides & top are laid with Beams of Fir well jointed & Calk'd, & the Roof supported by props in the middle, on the Roof & Sides, they ramm Clay or Earth, but a large funnel is left at the top for pouring in the Tar & a little door on the Side next the water, from whence by the help of a pipe & Cork 'tis conveyed into the Cask when on board the Boats, by this means the Tar is preserved from freezing & Leakage & a great deal of labour sav'd.

many high is computed to produce a¹ Last of Tar, sometimes more but often Less.

To make Plaster to resemble Ashler.

TAKE Lime, drift Sand, & stone Dust, a like Quantity of each, the Lime must be fresh, and of the strongest Sort, which must be Slacked and sifted fine, the Sand is such as is found in Streams of Water, must be sifted thro' sieves one degree after an other, till it comes to be as fine as mustard Seed, after which it must be washed clean from Dust or Loam; the Stone Dust must be had from any Quarry or Place, where Stones are usually wrought or fair'd, and if the dust be not fine enough, it must be pounded with a Sledge as fine as can be; when all is ready, then mix an equal Quantity of each together, and with Beaters let it be wrought in manner of Plaster Mortar, and well turned and beaten and intermixed every day, for 6 days before it be used; it cannot be too often turned, and beaten; which must be done on planks, or on a Stone Floor, so that no dirt or dust be raised to mix with it, but when the Lime, sand and Stone Dust are all ready, it need not be mixed or wrought till about a fortnight before it is to be used. The must be a very good strong Plaster Mortar made as is usually put on walls for the first Coat of Plastering, and made after the common way of Plaster Mortar, with good fresh Lime, common Sand, and as much Hair as can well be wrought into it, which must be extraordinary well tempered for a week or nine days, and lye near as long to prevent blistering, When both are ready, let all the old Mortar be scraped clean off the joints of the wall, and then with a Brush dipped in Water, moisten the wall very well, Then

¹ Twelve barrels make a Last.

immediately lay on the Plaister Mortar of a moderate thickness, to lye as levell and even as can be, and whilst that retains a moisture in it (be sure before it be dry) let another good hand follow and lay on with a Trowell, the finishing Mortar near about a quarter of an Inch thick upon the first Coat, and as it dries must with Boards (called Floats) rub it, and grind it in extraordinary well, to incorporate it with the first Coat, and Continue floating it, until thorough dry; It will crack in the working, but the Workmen must keep a Brush and water by to moisten the Cracks, & continue with the Floats to grind it in backwards and forward for two days till thoroughly dry, and incorporated with the first, But before 'tis too dry, let the Workman with a Rule and Iron for the purpose, put it into squares and joints of such Size as you please, not forgetting to break Joynts one under the other, and if you would have the Coins higher and more prominent in imitation of Rustick, it must be wrought higher and bolder in the first Mortar, and the finishing Mortar need not be much thicker than before, the Colour may be somewhat altered by adding a small Quantity of either Sort.

Suppose Freestone Dust may do.

SIR William Keith had been Surveyor Gen^l, of the Customs in the Southern District of America, For some Years & was afterwards Governor of Pennsylvania under M^r Penn for a considerable time, But he was so very expensive a Man that he saved nothing in either of these Employments. on the Contrary he plunged deeper in Debt than he was before, insomuch that when he return'd to England he was oblig'd to go abroad with great Caution, and to have many Fast Days at home, The following Piece he wrote to recommend Himself, at the Ex-

pense of the American Colonies, in which no man ever met with more Civilitys.

But as it happen'd he neither hurt them by this Performance, nor benefited Himself, Indeed the Ministry must have been very little Acquainted indeed with these Parts of the World not to find out many injudicious observations therein, which carry'd plain Marks of the Reason for which he wrote them. But the Work itself will best shew its Author & therefore I shall set it down at Full Length as follows.

A short Discourse on the present State of the Colonies in America, with Respect of Great Britain, By Sir William Keith.

HAPPY are the People whose Lot is to be govern'd by a Prince who does not wholly depend upon the Representation of others; but makes it a Chief Part of his Delight to inspect into the Condition of his Subjects according to their Several Ranks & Degrees; who from the force of his own Mind distinguishes the true Merit of His Servants, leaving the Liberties & Properties of his People to be Equally guarded & justly defended by a Punctual Execution of the Laws.

The unbounded Extent of Knowledge to be dayly acquired by the Judicious Enquirys & Application of such a Prince, will soon abolish the use of Flattery, & the pernicious Effects of all design'd Misrepresentations. The Paths of Virtue & Honour, with a Strict Adherence to Truth, will be the only Avenues of Access to the Sovereigns Esteem, & the Royal Favour in such a Reign, will ever be agreeably dispenced, in Proportion to the usefull Conduct & true Merits of the Party.

Introduction

So great an Example from the Throne, will doubtless inspire every honest breast with a better Share of Publick Spirit, men's Thoughts will not then be so intent upon what they can get for

themselves, as on what they can do for their Country, And for such Parts of the Princes Prerogative & Executive Power, as necessarily must be entrusted with Ministers, they will ever be thought an advantage and Security to a Nation, while the Conduct of a Ministry Shines principally in the Support of Liberty, which cannot Fail to to gain the Hearts & Affections of a Free People.

When either by Conquest or Encrease of People, Foreign Provinces are possessed, & Colonies planted abroad, it is convenient & often necessary to substitute little Dependant Governments, whose People by being enfranchised, & made Partakers of the Privileges & Liberties belonging to the Original Mother State, are justly bound by its Laws, & become subservient to its Interests as the true End of their Incorporation.

On a Provincial
Dependant Go-
vernment.

Every Act of Dependant Provincial Governments ought therefore to Terminate in the Advantage of the Mother State, unto whom it owes its being, & Protection in all its valuable Privileges, Hence it follows that all Advantageous Projects or Commercial Gains in any Colony, which are truly prejudicial to & inconsistent with the Interests of the Mother State, must be understood to be illegal, & the Practice of them unwarrantable, because they Contradict the End for which the Colony had a being, & are incompatible with the Terms on which the People Claim both Privileges & Protection.

Were these Things rightly understood amongst the Inhabitants of the British Colonies in America, there wou'd be less Occasion for such Instructions & Strict Prohibitions, as are daily sent from England to regulate their Conduct in many Points; the very Nature of the King wou'd be sufficient to direct their Choice in cultivating such Parts of Industry & Commerce only as wou'd bring some Advantage to the Interest & Trade of Great Britain, & they wou'd soon find by Experience that this was the solid & true Foundation whereon to build a

On a British Co-
lony in America.

real Interest in their Mother Country, & the certain Means to acquire Riches without Envy.

On the Other Hand where the Government of a Provincial Colony is well regulated, & all its business & Commerce truly adapted to the proper End, & design of its First Settlement; Such a Province like a Choice Branch, springing from the Main Root ought to be carefully nourish'd, & its just Interest well guarded; No little Partial Projector Party Gain, shou'd be Suffered to affect it, but rather it ought to be considered & weigh'd in the General Ballance of the whole State as a usefull & profitable Member.

For such is the End of all Colonies, & if this Use cannot be made of them, it wou'd be much better for the State to be without them.

On the Advan-
tages arising to
Britain from the
Trade of the Co-
lonies

It has ever been the Maxim of all Polite Nations, to regulate their Government to the best Advantage of their Trading Interest wherefore it may be helpful to take a Short View of the principal benefits arising to Great Britain by the Trade of the Colonies.

1 The Colonies take off & consume above one Sixth Part of the woollen Manufactures exported from Britain which is the Chief Staple of England & main Support of all the Landed Interest.

2 They take off & consume more than double that Value in Linnen and Callicoës, which is either the Product of Britain & Ireland, or partly the profitable Returns made for that Product carried to Foreign Countries.

3 The Luxury of the Colonies which encreases daily consumes great Quantities of English Manufactured Silks. Haberdashery, Household Furniture, & Trinkets of all Sorts, also a very considerable value in East India Goods.

4 A Great Revenue is raised to the Crown of Britain by returns made in the Produce of the Plantations, especially To-

bacco, which at the same time helps England to bring nearer to a Ballance their unprofitable Trade with France.

5 These Colonies promote the Interest & Trade of Britain by a vast encrease of Shipping & Seamen, which enables them to carry great Quantities of Fish to Spain, Portugal, Leghorn & C, Furs, Logwood & Rice to Holland, where they help Great Britain considerably in the Ballance of Trade with those Countries.

6 If reasonably encouraged the Colonies are now in a Condition to furnish Britain with as much of the following Commodities as it can demand Vizt, Mastings for the Navy, & all Sorts of Timber, Hemp, Flax, Pitch, Tar, Oyl, Rosin Copper-Oar, with Pig & Bar Iron; by means whereof the Ballance of Trade to Russia & the Baltick, may be very much reduced in Favour of great Britain.

7 The Profits arising to all these Colonies by Trade, are return'd in Bullion or other Effects usefull to Great Britain, where the Superfluous Cash & other Riches acquired in America, must Center; which is not one of the least Securities that great Britain has to keep the Colonies always in Subjection.

8 The Colonies upon the Main are the Granary of America, & a necessary Support to the Sugar Plantations in the West Indies which cou'd indeed not Subsist without them.

By this short View, the Trade in General we may plainly understand that these Colonies can be very beneficially employed both for Great Britain & themselves, without interfering with any of the Staple Manufactures of England, & considering the Bulk & End of whole Traffick, twere pity that any Material Branch of it shou'd be depressed on Account of the private End & particular Interests which in Comparison with these cannot Justly be esteemed a National Concern, For if the Trade of the Colonies be the Advantage of Britain, there is nothing more certain that the discouragement of any Substantial Branch for

the Sake of any Company or private Interest wou'd be a loss to the Nation. But in Order to set this Point yet in a clearer Light, we will proceed to consider some of the most Obvious Regulations in the America Trade, for the rendering the Colonies truly serviceable to Great Britain

Regulations in
the Plantation
Trade

1 That all the Product in Colonies, for which the Manufacture & Trade of Britain has a constant Demand, be Enumerated amongst the Goods which by the Law must First be transported to Britain before they can be carried to any other Market.

2 That every valuable Merchandize to be found in the English Colonies and rarely any where else, & for which there is a Constant Demand in Europe, shall also be Enumerated in Order to assist Great Britain in the Ballance of Trade with other Countries.

3 That all kind of Woolen Manufactures for which the Colonies have a Demand, shall continue to be brought from Britain only, & Linnen from Great Britain & Ireland.

4 All other kind of European Commodities to be carried to the Colonies (Salt excepted) Entry thereof first to be made in Britain, before they can be transported to any of the English Colonies.

5 The Colonies to be absolutely restrained in their several Governments from laying any Manner of Duties on Shipping of Trade from Europe; or upon European Goods transported from one Colony to another.

6 That the Acts of Parliament relating to the Trade & Government of the Colonies be revised, & collected into one distinct Body of Laws, for the use of the Plantations & such as Trade with them.

Supposing these Things to be done, it will Evidently follow, that the more extensive the Trade of the Colonies is, the greater will be the Advantage accruing to Great Britain therefrom & consequently that Enlargement of the Colonies, & the Encrease

of their People, would still be an Addition to the National Strength; all smaller Improvements therefore pretended unto, & set up by the lesser Societies for private Gain in Great Britain or elsewhere, altho' they might have a just Pretence to bring some Sort of Publick Benefit along with them, yet if they shall appear to be hurtfull to the much greater & more National Concern of the Trading usefull Colonies, they ought in Justice to the Publick to be neglected in favour to them; It being an unalterable Maxim that a lesser Publick Good must give place to a greater, & that it is of more moment to maintain a greater than a lesser number of Subjects well employed to the advantage of any State.

From what has been said of the Nature of Colonies & the restriction that ought to be laid on their Trade, is in plain that none of the English Plantations in America can with any reason or good sence pretend to claim an Absolute Legislative Power within themselves; so that let their several Constitutions be founded on Ancient Charters, Royal Patent, Custom, Prescription or what other Legal Authority You please, yet still they cannot be possessed of any rightfull Capacity to contradict or evade the force of any Act of Parliament wherewith the Wisdom of Great Britain may think fit to effect them from time to time, & in discourfing of their Legislative Power (improperly so called in a dependant Government) we are to consider them only as so many Corporations at a distance invested with Ability to make Temporary By Laws for themselves agreeable to their Respective Situations & Clymates, but no ways interfering with the Legal Prerogative of the Crown or the true Legislative Power of the Mother State.

If the Governors & General Assemblies of the Several Colonies wou'd be pleas'd to consider themselves in this Light, one wou'd think it was impossible that they wou'd be so weak as to fancy, they represented the King, Lords & Commons of Great

Britain within their little Districts; And indeed the useles or rather hurtfull & inconsistent Constitution of a Negative Council in all the Kings Provincial Governments has it is beleived contributed to lead them into this mistake, For so long as the King as reserved unto himself in his Privy Council the Consideration of, & Negative upon all their Laws, the Method of appointing a few of the Richest & Proudest Men in a small Colony as an upper House, with a Negative on the Proceedings of the King's Lieutenant Governor, & the People's Representations seem not only to Cramp the natural Liberty of the Subject there, but also the Kings Just Power & Prerogative.

For it often happens that very reasonable & good Bills, sometimes propos'd for the benefit of the Crown by the Wisdom of a good Governor & at other times offered by the People's Representatives in behalf of their Constituents, have been lost, & the Enacting of such made impracticable by the Obstinacy in the Majority in the Council, only because such Kings did not Square with their particular Private Interest & Gain, or with the Views which they form to themselves by assuming an imaginary Rank & Dignity above all the rest of the King's Subjects. And as to the Security which is pretended that either the Crown or a Proprietary may have by such a negative Council, it is in Fact quite otherwise, for that Caution wou'd be much better secured, if this Council was only a Council of State to advise with the Governor, and be constant witness of all Publick Transactions, & it cannot be thought that an Officer who is not only under Oaths & Bonds, but answerable by Law for his Misdeeds, & removable at Pleasure, wou'd in the Face of witnesses so appointed, contradict a Rational Advice, thereby Subjecting himself to grievous Penalties, and loss, neither is it to be supposed that these Men, if they had only the Priviledge of advising, would oppose such good Bills, or other reasonable Propositions as they well know, they had no Legal Power to reject, but while they

find themselves possessed of a peremptory Negative, without being in any Sort accountable, for their Opinions, it is easy to be imagined, how such a Power may be used on many Occasions to serve their Private Interests & Views in Trade, as well as to indulge the too natural Propensity which Mankind have, especially abroad, to rule over and Oppress their poor Neighbours; besides an Artfull corrupt Governor will find Means by Preferment &c, so to influence a Negative Council that knowing themselves to be under no bonds or any other Valuable Penalty, to answer the Party aggrieved by their Opinions, they may without Risque proceed in such a Manner as to skreen the Governor in many things, which otherwise he is personally & Singly bound to Account for, in a legal & just way.

If then a Council of State only to advise with the Governor, shall appear in all Emergencies & Cases that can be proposed to be equally usefull & not attended with the inconsistencies, Obstructions & Advantages of a Negative Council, the one seems to be much Preferable to the other, & more agreeable to that Liberty & just Equality which is establish'd by the Common Law, amongst English Men, & consequently less productive of those Grievances & Complaints which have been so frequent hitherto from the Plantations. At first View it will appear natural enough for an Englishman who has tasted the Sweetness of that Freedom which is enjoyed under the King, Lords & Commons of Great Britain to imagine that a third Part should be form'd in the little Governments of the Plantations in the imitation of the House of Lords, but if we rightly consider it, that part of the Constitution is already most properly & fully supply'd by the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council; besides let us suppose that instead of an House of Lords in Britain, a like number of Select Commoners were invested with a Power to sit a Part & to put a Negative upon the Proceedings of the House of Commons, consisting of Three times the Number of Persons of

Equal Rank representing all the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament, the inconsistency & unreasonableness of the Thing does presently obtrude itself upon our Minds, And yet such is the very Case of that Negative which is now practised by the Council in America.

On the Civil
Jurisdiction.

Next to the Legislative Power we shall proceed to consider the Civil Jurisdiction in the Plantations, which by their own Acts is branched out into so many different Forms almost in each Colony, that it is scarce practicable to reduce them under such Heads in any one discourse as to make it intelligible to those who are altogether unacquainted with American Affairs.

It is generally acknowledged in the Plantations that the Subject is entituled by Birth & Right unto the benefit of the Common Law of England, but then as the common Law has been altered from time to time, & restricted by Statutes it is still a Question in many of the American Courts of Judicature whether any of the English Statutes which do not particularly mention the Plantations can be of Force there until they brought it over by some Act of Assembly in that Colony where they are pleaded; And this creates such Confusion, that according to the Art or influence of the Lawyers, before Judges who by their Education are but indifferently Qualified for that Service, they allow the Force of the particular Statutes, and at other times reject the whole especially if the Bench is inclinable to be partial, which too often happens in those new & unsettled Countries; & as Mens Liberties & Properties in any Country chiefly depend on an impartial and Equal Administration of Justice, this is one of the most Material Grievances which the Subjects of America have just Cause to complain of; But while for the want of Schools & other proper Instructions, in the Principles of Moral Vertue, their People are not so well Qualified even to serve upon Juries, & much less to Act on a Bench of Judicature, It seems impracticable to provide a Remedy until a Sufficient Revenue

be found out amongst them to support the Charges of sending Judges from England to take their Circuits by turns, on the several Colonies on the Main, which if thought worthy of a Consideration will appear neither to be improper nor unpracticable; & until that can be done all other Attempts to rectify their Courts of Law will be fruitless, & may therefore be Suspended.

Courts of Chancery which are known to be necessary in many Cases to correct the severity of the Common Law, seems to subsist there on a most pernicious Foot; for it does not appear that there is a proper & Legal Authority to hold such a Court in any of the Colonies. Nevertheless by Custom every where, some kind of Chymera is to be found in some Form or another, so that where a Rich Man designs to contest any thing in dispute against his poor Neighbour, if he can contrive to bring it into Chancery, he is sure the Business will rarely or never be brought to Issue, which on many Occasions proves an intollerable Oppression wherefore 'tis hoped that so high a Jurisdiction issuing immediately from the Crown, will in due time be put on a more Regular & Certain Establishment.

A Militia in an Arbitrary & Tyrannical Government may possibly be of some Service to the Governing Power, but we learn by Experience that in a free Country, 'tis of little Use; the People in the Plantations are so few in proportion to the Lands, which they possess, that Servants being scarce, & Slaves so excessively dear, the Men are generally under a necessity there to work hard themselves in Order to provide the common necessary's of Life for their Families, so that they cannot Spare a days time without great loss to their Interest.

Wherefore a Militia there wou'd become more burthensome to the Poor People, than it can be in any part of Europe, But besides it may be question'd how far it would consist with good Policy to accustom all the able in the Colonies to be well exer-

On the Military Strength.

cised in Arms, It seems at present to be more adviseable to keep up a small Regular standing Force in each Province which might be readily for a time if Occasion did require, & thus in Case of War or Rebellion the whole of the Regular Troops might be without Loss of Time, united or distributed at Pleasure, & if, as has been said before, a suitable Revenue abroad can be raised for the Defence & Support of the Plantations, it wou'd be no difficult a matter both to form and Execute a Scheme of this Nature.

On Taxes.

Land is so plenty & to be had so very cheap in America that there is no such Thing as a Tenant to be found in that Country for every Man is a Land Lord in fee of what he possesses, & only pays a small Quit or Ground Rent to the Lord of the Soil, & this makes it impracticable to find an Assembly of such Freeholders in any of the Colonies who will consent to lay any Tax upon Lands; nor indeed is it to be expected that they shou'd voluntarily agree to raise any Revenue amongst themselves, except what is absolutely necessary for Erecting Court Houses, Bridges, Highways, & other needful Expences of the Civil Government which is commonly levied upon Stock, an Excise upon Foreign Liquors retailed, or Small Pox Tax; & the Publick there is generally in Debt, because they are extremely jealous of Attempts upon their Liberties, and apprehensive, that if at any time, the Publick Treasury was rich it might prove to great a Temptation for an Artfull Governor in Conjunction with their own Representatives to divide the Spoil & betray them.

On their Independancy.

It must be allow'd that a Share of Personal Interest or self Love influences in some degree every Man's Affections & gives a Natural impulse to all our Actions; and tho' this is most perceptible in Trade or Commercial Affairs, yet there is not any other Transaction in Life that passes without it, & as it is with Men in this Case, so we find it has ever been with all States or

Bodys Politick; so long as they are Independant one upon another; The Wisdom of the Crown of Britain therefore by keeping its Colonies in that Situation is every much to be applauded while they continue so; it is morally impossible that any dangerous Union shou'd be form'd among them, because their Interest in Trade & all manner of Business, being entirely separated by their Independancy, every Advantage that is lost or neglected by one Colony is immediately picked up by another, & the Emulation that continually subsists between them in all manner of Intercourse & Traffick, is ever productive of Envy, Jealousies & Cares how to gain upon each others Conduct in Government or Trade, Every one thereby endeavouring to magnifie their Pretentions to the Favour of the Crown by becoming more usefull than their Neighbours to the Interest of Great Britain.

But to render the Colonies still more considerable to Britain, & the Management of their Affairs much more easy to the King & his Ministers at home, it wou'd be convenient to appoint particular Officers in England for the Dispatch of the Business belonging to the Plantations, for often Persons that come from England either to complain or Support their own just Rights are at a loss how, or where to apply, This uncertainty does not only fatigue the Ministers but frequently terminates in the Destruction of the Party, by his being referred from Office to Office, until both his Money & Patience be quite worn out; such things in time may cool Peoples Affections, & give them too mean an Opinion of the Justice of their Mother Country, which ought carefully to be prevented; for where there is a Liberty the Inhabitants will certainly expect Right, & still have an Eye towards the obtaining it one way or other.

It may be considered therefore how far it would be serviceable to put all the Crown's Civil Officers in the Plantations of what kind soever, under the Direction of the Board of Trade, from

whom they might receive their several Deputations or appointments, & unto whom they ought to be accountable both for their Receipts & Management, & if a particular Secretary was appointed for the Plantation Affairs only, or if the first Lord Commissioner of that Board was permitted to have dayly access to the King in order to receive his Majesty's Commands in all Business relating to the Plantations, the Subjects Application wou'd be reduced into so narrow a Compass, and the Board of Trade wou'd always be so perfectly acquainted with the King's Pleasure, that great Dispatch might be given even to those distant Matters without taking up too much of the Ministry's time, & interfering with others (Perhaps) more important Business the People of the Colonies wou'd be pleased to find themselves thus regarded, without giving one any undue Preference to another, & all the Rents, Revenues, Customs & other Profits in any Manner arising from the Plantations wou'd then Center in one Place, where another proper Member of the same Board might be appointed Treasurer of that Particular Revenue, to answer all such order as shall be issued from time to time, for the Plantations Service. And as the Revenue from America would in all Probability be increased dayly, it may be reasonably expected, that the Expence of Paying the Board of Trade & other Officers wholly employed in Plantation Affairs which is now born by the Civil List, would then more properly arise & be discharged out of the American Fund & the overplus remaining would in time become a most usefull Stock for purchasing the Proprietary Lands, erecting Forts, & extending the Present Settlements as far as the great Lakes, or might be applied to such other Uses as his Majesty shou'd think proper for that Service.

Of the Revenue
in America

All that has been said with Respect to the Improvement of the Plantations, will it is supposed signifie but very little unless a Sufficient Revenue can be raised to support the needfull Expences, in Order to which it is humbly submitted whether the Duties of

Stamps upon Parchment & Paper in England, may not with good reason be extended by Act of Parliament to all the American Plantations.

When we do not cast an Eye upon the vast Tracts of Land Conclusion.
& immense Riches which the Spanish Nation have in little more than one Century very oddly acquired in America, insomuch that the Simple Priviledge of Trading with them, & on very high Terms too, is become a Prize worth contending For amongst the greatest Powers in Europe, Surely we must on due Reflection acknowledge that the Preservation & Enlargement of the English Settlement in those parts is of the last consequence to the Trade, Interest & Strength of Great Britain. And moreover considering how that the last Resort of Justice in the Plantations is solely Lodged in the Kings Sacred Person, with the advisement of his Majesty's Privy Council, exclusive of Westminster Hall, or any other Judicature, the brightening that Jewel in the Crown may not be thought unworthy of the present happy Reign, to which the Improvement & Future Security of so large a Part of the British Dominions, the Advancement of Trade, & Universal Support of the glorious Cause of Liberty, Seems to be reserved by the Peculiar Hand of Providence.

To the Kings most Excellent Majesty

May it please Your Majesty

Since the Observations contain'd in the Following discourse were occasionally made in your Majesty's & Your Royal Father's Service abroad, during the Space of Twelve Years; I most humbly beg Leave to lay them at your Royal Feet, as a natural Effect of the purest loyalty to your sacred Person; & the only means which is left in my Power to serve the Publick, as well as to demonstrate that I am,

May it please Your Majesty

Your Majesty's,
Subject,

Most Obedient Servant &

WILLIAM KEITH

This Performance thus address'd to the King was presented to his Majesty by the Author, & referred to the Lords of Trade & Plantations. Their Lordships sent Copys thereof to several Governors on the Continent; And the Following Answer was returned by the Hon,^{ble} Mr Gooch Governor of Virginia.

MR GOOCH'S ANSWER TO THE FOREGOING OBSERVATIONS.

Some Remarks on a Paper transmitted into America, Entituled a Short Discourse on the Present State of the Colonies in America. with Respect of Great Britain

AS the Introduction to our Author's Scheme must necessarily convey to every Reader the most exalted Idea of his Majesty's Incomparable Vertues; So the Subsequent Sheets will I hope appear with such a Face of Truth, as to create in every loyal Breast a just resentment against the Maliginity of a writer who has taken the Liberty to abuse so much goodness by partial & unjust Representations of a Faithfull & obedient People; which no other View than by infusing groundless Jealousies of their Conduct, to procure for himself an Employment in the Management of that imaginary Revenue, which he proposes to raise by the Duties of Stamps on Paper and Parchment.

To vindicate his Majesty's good Subjects in the Plantations from the unjust Aspersions of this Author; to point out the particulars wherein he wou'd impose long established Maxims in the Government of the Plantations, as the effect of his own Twelve Years observations; and to shew the impracticableness of this Scheme, full of Various & contradictory Windings, is the design of the following Remarks, which shall be prosecuted in the same Order & Method he has been pleased to range them, that the World may the better observe the Labyrinth this Projector is leading us into.

On a Provincial Dependant Government.

The Description he has given of a Provincial Dependant Government, so far as it concerns the American Plantations, which were first Seated by English Men, & not subdued by Conquest, may be fully understood, and the Dependancy of the Plantations on the Mother State is a clearly asserted in the 5th Section of the Act for Encouraging Trade made in the Fifteenth Year of the Reign of King Charles the Second; that this Author with all the Pains and Trouble he has been at, has really found out nothing in his long & accurate Observations in America, but what every one knew whose concern & Business it was, long before he was born. Nor do his Majesty's Ministers entrusted with the Care of the Plantations, nor do the Inhabitants of the several Provinces themselves need now to be put in mind of the Dependance the Plantations have on Great Britain; since every valuable Branch of the American Trade is secured by Law from the Danger of being diverted into any other Channel, If therefore this writer instead of laying down General Positions, which no Man ever denied, concerning the Original design of settling Colonies abroad, had pointed out the particular Provinces in which any Advantageous Projects are set on Foot prejudicial with, & inconsistent to the Mother State. he had done much better Service to the Publick, and more Justice to the Plantations, than by leaving Mankind at Liberty to charge all of them with Practices innumerable & incompatible with the Terms on which the People Claim both Priviledges & Protection.

On a British Colony in America.

Here the Author charges the Inhabitants of the British Colonies in general with not understanding the true End & design of their Settlement in America, and what they owe to their Mother

Country; and endeavours to prove his Charge by the Instructions & Strict Prohibitions, which in many Points are daily sent from England to regulate their Conduct, In answer to this it may be fairly urged, that as the People in the Plantations always have and ever will pay a due Obedience to all Laws made in England for regulating their Conduct, and all other Orders and Instructions which the Crown thinks fit to transmit for their better Government, so it is no such great Wonder, as the Writer wou'd make it, if some amongst them remember that as English Men, they have a Natural Liberty of pursuing what may promote their own benefit in such Matters as are not prohibited by Former Laws and Instructions, We see the same thing done in England by many Private Persons, notwithstanding all the Care of his Majesty's Officers; but that the collective Body of the People in any of the British Colonies in America have combined to thwart the Interest of the Mother State, as seems to be under this Head insinuated is a gross misrepresentation, an extravagant Conceit framed in his own Brain. It is indeed true that Instructions & strict Prohibitions are sent into America, & are frequently evaded where crafty and designing Men have had the Dexterity to lead the well meaning Inhabitants into Schemes as much prejudicial to their own Interest as that of Great Britain of which the Author can give a very remarkable Instance in the Case of the Paper Bills struck in Pennsylvania, but this ought not to be charged on the Plantations in General,

If our Author had been so ingenuous as not to have thought himself safest by being in the dark, he might have distinguished by his Wise Observations those Provinces whose Commerce and Government are truly adapted to the Proper End and Design of their First Settlement; and pointed out those other Plantations which great Britain had so much better be without; for then on the one Hand, he had deserved the thanks of those, who ought

not only to have been thus treated by him, but carefully nourished by their Mother Country; And on the other hand he had given the disobedient and ill disposed Provinces opportunity to set themselves Right in their Sovereign's Opinion.

But while he is intent in turning Topſy Turvy long eſtabliſhed Conſtitutions in Colonies well regulated in point of Government and Trade, nor with, but againſt Reaſon; I ſhall be content to leave it to every impartial Reader to Conſider whether the Inhabitants of the Plantations have not reaſon to fear his ill meaning towards them & that no Government will be allowed to be well regulated but what is the Offspring of his own Invention, which how conſiſtent it is with the Trading Intereſt will appear hereafter.

On the Advantages ariſing to Great Britain from the Trade of the Colonies.

This contains a pretty juſt enumeration of all the Advantages accruing to Great Britain from the Plantation Trade; And his Arguments for obviating any diſcouragements this Trade may receive for the Sake of any Private Intereſt, are no doubt moſt true, and Concluſive, This is a Privilege of Writing every honeſt Man may lay claim to, and gives the Reader Encouragement to hope, that for the future he ſhall be on better Terms with the Writer, but alſo in the next Paragraph, after having made uſe of the beſt Means for his Information he again follows the Dictates of his own Conſcience & Underſtanding.

For by Regulations in the Plantation Trade 'tis firſt to be remembered that all the Regulations mentioned by this Author as ſuch as have been Eſtabliſhed long ſince, either by Acts of Parliament or the Kings imediate Authority, except the Fourth and laſt, and theſe require ſome Animadverſions, Under the Fourth Regulation he ſeems to exclude the Plantations from the Liberty they enjoy by the Acts of Trade of Importing Pro-

vifions from Ireland, & Wine from the Maderas and Azores, and will allow only Salt to be brought dire&ly to the Plantations without Firft being entered in England. But as thefe are neceffary for the Plantations, and no way Interfere with the Trade of Great Britain; it is to be hoped that the fame Liberty will be ftill continued, and if 'tis thought an Indulgence, that fome of the Plantations at leaft deferve it. The laft Regulation mention'd by our Author is the Collecting the A&ts of Parliament relating to the Plantations into one diftinct Body; and this may be faid to be all his own, for who does not know that the prefent Secretary to the Commiffioners of the Customs fome Years ago made very exa&t Collection of all the Laws relating to Trade which any concerned in the Plantations may eafily purchafe, and many have before this Author difcovered the ufefulness thereof, fo that 'tis not of fuch mighty Importance as to give occafion for an immediate Addrefs to his Majefty.

On the Legislative Power.

Under this head the Author has couched an invidious Infinnuation as if the Affembly in the Plantations pretended to an Abfolute Legislative Power within themfelves, & thereby prefumed to contradict and Evade the Intent and force of the A&ts of Parliament of their Mother Country, than which nothing can be more falfe and unjuft, And 'tis hoped that the Lords Commiffioners of Trade (under whofe Confideration 'tis faid this wonderfull Performance lyes) will have the goodnefs to Vindicate his Majeftys Subjects of the Plantations from fo foul an Afperfion which might otherwife render the beft of Subjects (I fpeak only of fome Colonies) very juftly to be fufpected of their Sovereign. But had this Authors Obfervations been conceived under a more Auspicious Planet, it wou'd have been needlefs for me to tell the Reader, that not any of the Plantation Affemblies ever pretended to contradict the A&ts with which the

Parliament of Great Britain have thought fit to affect them, well knowing that the Authority which they derive from the Crown expressly prohibits all such Endeavours, nor are they Ignorant of it that all Laws contrived by them, and tending to that purpose wou'd be vain and ineffectual; Since by the Statute of the 7th & 8th of King William all such Laws as are repugnant to the Acts of Parliament therein mention'd or to any other Law thereafter to be made in England relating to the Plantations are declar'd Null and Void. But yet with this Author's Leave, the People of the Plantations conceive they are possess'd of a Legislative Power, properly so called, by Virtue of their Charters, & the Royal Grants, which enable Governors with the Advice of the Council and Assemblies to make Laws and Ordinances, for the good Government of their Respective Provinces; under this Restriction, that such Laws be conformable to the Statutes of England; and this Power the Plantation Assemblies have exercis'd from their first Institution to this time; not as so many petty Corporations at a Distance, but as Communities deriving their Authority from the Crown. Thus they have in the respective Provinces established Laws for regulating Proceedings in their Courts of Justice; they have settl'd Titles to Lands, and declared Slaves to be real Estate; and have made many other necessary Rules for securing the Properties of the Subject agreeable to the particular Circumstances of the several Colonies; which are far different from the Nature of Temporary By Laws made by little Corporations. And it is the great comfort of the Inhabitants in the Plantations that these very Laws of theirs have been from time to time approved of by those Ministers of the Crown, set apart for that Purpose, who have had as much at heart the legal Prerogative of the King, and the true Interest of the Mother State, and as much Capacity to Judge of both, as this Writer can pretend to with all his Twelve Years remarks.

But the Author resolving to go thro' Stitch when sticking at Foundations, proceeds to reprehend the weakness of the Governors and General Assemblies in the several Colonies, who fancy that they Represent the King Lords and Commons of Great Britain; but this is a weakness to which the Author himself was once Subject, and as such might well have Spared charging it on others, who to be sure had a much better Title to fancy themselves the King's Representatives. However the Governors of the Plantations undoubtedly are now much obliged to him for setting them right in this particular; for indeed it has been hitherto a general received Opinion that a Governor having the Chief Command of a Province by the Kings immediate Commission; did in that Capacity represent the Person of his Royal Master; And we have heard of a Governor in a certain Province who took it mortally ill to be told, he was not the King's Representative, tho' at the same time he acted under the Authority of an old Woman, the Proprietor. But 'tis to be hoped that such weakness will not hereafter prevail among such Governors. Then as to the Assemblies fancying themselves to Represent Lords and Commons, it would be an unpardonable weakness shou'd they pretend to it, but this Writer willfully I fear, mistakes an Endeavour to imitate so great an Example in the Manner of Proceedings in a Legislative Capacity (a weakness very pardonable) for a Vanity of assuming this Power, which wou'd be wholly inexcusable, but it is an undoubted Truth, that the making a Law by the Governor, Council and Representatives of the People in the Original Establishment of the Plantations in General founded on their Charters and other Royal Grants, and has never been complained of, either by the People themselves, or centured by those Lords to whom the Crown has committed the inspection of the Plantations.

Those who are Strangers to everything may fancy what they please, by the Strength of which our Author proceeds to a

Negative Council as he calls it, and this Negative Council consists of a few of the richest and proudest Men in each Colony, here he is happier than perhaps he thinks of, for there may possibly be one Man more in the World which thinks as he does. But pray Sir are the Richest Men in a Country for that Reason the least fit to share in the Legislature, or are they less Capable of Consulting the general Interest of Community in which they live, or less concern'd for securing the Liberties and Properties of a Free People? And as to the Just Power and Prerogative of the Crown, can they be more safely trusted in the Hands of the People's Representatives, than in that of a Council who owe the Rank they hold to the Kings Favour, and are removable at his Pleasure? But, I had almost forgot, it seems these Rich Councillors are proud too, and therefore unfit to be entrusted with any Power of Legislation; Surely this Ingenious Author might without Twelve Years Observation have found out that there are many Men not very Rich that have an equal Share of Pride with the most wealthy, And supposing that the Council of the several Plantations were modelled according to his Scheme, and all the Rich Men excluded, cou'd he imagine that their Successors wou'd be more Capable of Serving the King, and promoting the true Interest of the Colonies, than those they succeed? or will they be less liable to the Vanity of assuming to themselves an imaginary Dignity & Rank above the rest of the King's Subjects? These are very uncommon Observations nor cou'd I have beleived them to have been the Author's own, had he not extravagantly insisted upon them beyond all Sense & beyond all Truth. For he goes on and tell us that these Councillors are to be only a Council of State to advise the Governors, *Risum teneatis*, Amice, and be Solemn Witnesses of all Publick Transactions, and a most notable security they must needs proves, when the Author owns that an Artfull corrupt Governor will find Means

by preferment, &C, so to influence a Council, rich and proud too, that they shall screen a Governor in many things, which otherwise he must be personally bound to account for in a just and Legal Way.

May not then this new modelled Council of State from which all Rich Men it seems are to be excluded be as liable to the like Influence as the Councils now Establish't, and may not their necessities rather dispose them to be bribed by Preferments into full Compliances, than those whose Estates set them above such a Temptation? And may not these New Fashion'd Councilors have as great a natural propensity to Rule over & Oppress their poor Neighbours? Undoubtedly they may! Nay are Subject to the like Temptations and passions with other Men, and perhaps more, since 'tis probable they may meet some Occasions to indulge such Passions, for being no further usefull in a Government than to look on while the Governor and his lower House of Assembly are transacting the Publick Affairs of the Colony; besides, they may soon fall under the ridicule and contempt of their Fellow-Subjects, and by that be lead to make revengefull, Returns especially when a corrupt Governor may find it for his Interest to join in the Oppression.

But while the Councils in the Kings Provincial Governments are as liable to be removed as the Governors themselves, and that if any of them should obstinately oppose any Law prepared in the Assembly for the Publick Good, or the Interest of the Crown, a good and watchful Governor wou'd find means to take from them the power of doing further Mischief, there is no Danger to the Crown or Mother State in preserving the present Constitution. And as to the Proprietary Governments, seeing those Proprietors themselves from their own personal knowledge, or from the Recommendation of their Lieutenant Governors, have the Nomination of the Council in their Respective Provinces, and have thought fit to entrust such Council with a

Share in the Legislature as a necessary Part of the Constitution, it wou'd be hard to deny them this Check on their Deputies, when the People themselves of the several Provinces have never complain'd of any Inconvenience from this Establishment.

On the Civil Jurisdiction.

However unintelligible the Civil Jurisdiction in the Plantations may be to some who are altogether unacquainted with American Affairs; Yet if by Civil Jurisdiction it be understood the Administration of Justice in the Courts of Law, I will venture to pronounce that the practice of those Courts is exactly suited to the Circumstances of the Respective Governments, and as near as possible it can be, conformable to the Laws and Customs of England. It is hoped the common Law of England will still be acknowledged as the Birth-right of every Subject in the Plantations; and as to the English Statutes which do not particularly mention the Plantations, tho' made since the Settlement thereof, there was never any disputes in the Courts of Judicature whether they were binding on the Subjects of the Plantations, because the Resolutions of the Judges in England have determin'd that they are not, If any such partial Judges are to be found in the Plantations, who allow the Force of the English Statutes in one Case, and reject the same in another, the Governors are much to blame for continuing such Judges: And admitting there may be some such in the Inferior Courts, yet while the Supreme Courts in each Province are filled with Men of Integrity, good Sense (for the Truth will out in spite of our Author) and a Competent knowledge in the Laws (tho' they are not all of them profound Lawyers) the Subject will not be much injured, thro' the Ignorance of Inferior Magistrates. That the People in the Plantations are so destitute of proper Instructions in Principles of Moral Vertue, as to unqualify them

even to serve upon Juries, much less to set upon a Bench of Judicature, is an Aspersion no less severe than untrue. Many of the Natives have had their Education in England, and others born and brought up there are now become Inhabitants, and without any reflection upon this Author it may very easily be made appear that there are Numbers in the Plantations that understand the Principles and Practice of Moral Vertue as well as himself (especially if paying a Man's Just Debts be reckoned a Moral Vertue) & such as the People would as readily chuse to be tried by either as Judge or Jury; But as this noise about the Civil Jurisdiction, as he calls it, is only design'd to forward his Scheme of a Revenue, for which some use must be found out, & as one is the maintainance of Judges to be sent from England to take their Circuits by turns thro' all the Provinces on the Main (which no doubt would prove a very extraordinary means to expedite Justice, as Four of 1500 Miles being but a meer Trifle) with a very wanton Pen, he at once disqualifies all the Inhabitants in America, from serving as Judge or Juror. This Argument if there be any thing in it, equally proves that they also ought to be sent from England, for what can his Judges do, if there is not a Jury to be had that understands the Principles of Moral Virtue. It is therefore humbly hoped his Majesty will be graciously pleased to continue the Courts of Justice under the present Establishment, until the People themselves find it inconvenient, or are provided with some better means to support the charge of other Judges than what this Schemist has yet contrived. He next proceeds to consider the Courts of Chancery, and says, there does not appear to him a proper & legal Authority to hold such a Court in any of the Colonies; but herein he is again much mistaken, and shou'd have taken Care to inform himself a little better, because 'tis very certain that in many of the Colonies, Courts of Chancery are establish'd by Acts of their Assemblies pursuant to their Authority derived

from the Crown; and in the others, the Governors take themselves to be sufficiently Authorized to Act as Chancellors, by having the Custody of the great Seal of their Province committed to them, but whether this Gentleman had a legal Authority to set himself up for the Chancellor of the Province of Pennsylvania, or whether in that Capacity he acted with due regard to the speedy Execution of Justice as he ought is a question he can best resolve. For in most of the Colonies it is certain the Proceedings in Chancery are remarkably expeditious, and the Author would be very much put to it to give One single Instance of any Suit depending in the Plantation Chancerys half so long as they commonly do in England.

On the Military Strength.

Here the Writer advanceth a Paradox, which is not Easily to be reconciled to Common Sense: A Militia, says he, in a Tyrannical & Arbitrary Government may possibly be of some Service to the Governing Power; But we learn from Experience that in a free Country it is of little use, and therefore, he proposes in the Room of the Militia the Establishment of a standing Army in each Province; Now let any one consider but the Nature of the Militia in the British Plantations, and then reflect whether that or a standing Force be most consistent with the Safety of those Colonies; The Militia of the Colonies consists of all the Free Men able to bear Arms, under the Command of Persons chosen from among the People of the best Families and Fortunes; or in the words of his Majesty's Instructions "they are listed under good Officers" commissioned by the respective Governors; therefore, Reader now Judge, whether these Men are fit Tools for an Arbitrary & Tyrannical Government; or whether they are more likely to join with the Governing Powers! And having something to lose, may there-

fore be more ready to be apply'd to evil Purposes, if any such were to be feared under his Majesty's most happy Reign.

The Reason this Writer gives for laying aside the Militia, are these Two; first an Ease to the poor Labourers and Planters; secondly, the Danger of exercising & training the Inhabitants in the Exercise of Arms.

As, to the First, there is no Free Man in the Plantations but what may without Loss attend the usual Musters appointed by the several Laws of the Colonies; These Exercises if well regulated and contrived (as I know a Province where they now are) are rather a diversion than a Trouble, and will always be better born by the People, than to see themselves deprived of the necessary Means for their Defence, whenever there shall be occasion to make use thereof; and the Author's Compassion for the Industrious Labourer will rather be found the greatest Cruelty, when 'tis considered that by the Use of Arms, he exposes their Throats to be cut by their Slaves, or a worse & more dangerous Enemy the Shoals of Convicts which are readily transported to the Plantations, and being dispersed thro' a large Extent of Land can scarce be kept in Obedience, but by the Terror of a Militia ready to Suppress them, if they shou'd dare to Form any Combinations against their Masters.

As to the Second, it is most unjust in the Author to insinuate such a groundless Jealousy of the Plantations, as if any danger cou'd accrue to Great Britain by accustoming their Inhabitants to the Exercise of Arms, He has himself under this very head shewed that no danger can arise thereby, where he acknowledges that the Labouring People are under a necessity to work hard to provide the common Necessaries of Life For their Families, and if so, how can these People find time to plot and Contrive against the Government which the King is pleased to set over them! And as to the rich Men he confesses that all the Superfluous Cash & other Riches acquired in America must Center

in Great Britain; and what better Security can they be bound in for their Obedience? Where is the Danger then from their bearing Arms? Or how can it be thought inconsistent with good Policy to continue the Militia in the Establishment it now is, when all the Plantations intirely depend upon Britain for a supply of necessaries, and when it is well known their Riches are deposited. If the Subject in America were to take up Arms; as this writer wou'd insinuate, what Enemy are they to attack? It can hardly be imagined that they will fall upon one another; because they are like to be small gainers by the Adventure; And as to their Mother Country, it is very certain, that such attempt wou'd entirely destroy their Trade upon which their daily & necessary Subsistence depends. So that the Author's sly insinuation about the Plantation Militia, must appear to all considering Men, to be without any Sort of Foundation, and calculated only to make his Scheme of Stamp Duties appear more necessary; for what else can be imagined from his proposal of keeping up a small regular standing Force in each Province, since it is evident from the Situation of the Plantations on the Continent, that a small standing force wou'd be of little Service to the Protection of any Province whatever, either in Case of War or Rebellion. And if this standing Force shou'd be so numerous as to be serviceable in either of them, the Author will find it a more difficult Matter to form and execute a proper Scheme for raising a suitable Revenue to support it. The Extent of the British Dominions along the Sea Coast of the Continent is at least 1500 Miles, in which are many Bays, Rivers & Harbours, where an Enemy may land without danger or disturbance from this small standing Force propos'd to be kept up; and then how difficult it will be to join Troops so dispersed, may be easily Judged from the Number of Rivers, Creeks, and unpassable Morasses, which are so frequently met with, and will be always found in their Marches. And the

same may be said as to the difficulty of defending the Frontiers of the Plantations towards the Land where the French are settled along the back of these Plantations, besides many Numerous Nations of Indians ready to join them against whose Incurfions a small standing Force in each Province will prove but a slender Security. This part of the Project being so very ridiculous and stuffed with such Apparent Contradictions to Reason and Common Sense, I shall dismiss it and go on to the Authors next Head.

On Taxes.

And here the Writer complains that Land is so plenty and Cheap in America that there is no Tenant to be found, nor an Assembly that will consent to lay a Land Tax, and indeed it is difficult to say which way they shou'd, for if Lands be of no Value, how can this Tax be proportioned or levied, or what Revenue, can at all be raised from that which is of no worth? But the Author might have added, that tho' the Lands being of no certain Value are not Taxed, yet the People are sufficiently Taxed in most Places in the Produce of their Labours upon those Lands, besides their being burdened with a Poll-tax, and other Duties; and if by these they can defray the necessary Expences of the Civil Government. there seems no great Occasion to blame them for not having useles Sums in their Treasury, without charging this Parsimony on the Jealousy of their Liberties, or the Rapine of an Artfull Governor, joined with the fraudulent Combinations of their own Representatives; for no instance can be given of such a Confederacy; tho' this Gentleman may perhaps know a Governor who got into his Clutches £2000 of the Superfluous Treasure of a certain Province, but was too Artfull to let the Peoples Representatives share a Farthing of it with Him; a shrew'd Specimen of that self Love with which the Writer introduces the following Article.

On their Independancy.

In which there is nothing new or worthy of Consideration, except a clear Demonstration which is no ways inconsistent with good Policy to allow the People of the Plantations the use of Arms, since the Emulation amongst the independant Governments, if at last it seems only which of them shall best recommend themselves by being most usefull to the Interest of Great Britain; an Emulation which ought never to be discouraged by any unnecessary Taxes and other hardships and decide the Controversy in favour of a truly Meritorious People, who ought to be left to that defence with which they are best pleased.

On the Management of Plantation Affairs in England.

The People of the Plantations have ever acquiesced in whatever Method the Crown has thought fit to direct them in their Applications to the Throne in all Matters relating to their Particular Affairs; And if by this Gentleman's endeavours, or otherwise, a more speedy and easy Means of Address shall be appointed, they will receive the favour with the gratitude that becomes them; But if the Appointment of all the Civil Officers in the Plantations of what kind soever, and their several Commissions for those Employments are immediately to be granted by the Lords of Trade or by any other Hands in England, it is very easy to foresee, what a confusion must unavoidably follow such a new Regulation. For it must be remembered that many of the Offices are of so little Profit, that they are scarce worth applying for, especially at such a distance and Paying Extraordinary Fees, of the Commissions; besides it may well be thought worthy of Consideration, how despicable the Governor of a Province must be when stript of the Power of disposing of the few places that fall within his Government, and

how little serviceable to the Crown. when deprived of the only means of rewarding Merit and creating and Influence. If by obliging these Officers to Account with the Lords of Trade, or their Treasurer, for their Receipts of all the Revenues of the Plantations, be meant, that the several Duties and Revenues, which are now raised for the Support of the Respective Governments shou'd be remitted to this Treasurer; then it will follow that all Sallaries to those Officers must also be paid there, and what an unnecessary Trouble this may create both to that Honourable Board, and to the Officers themselves need not be particularized. But if the Author's meaning be, as indeed it is hard to guess what he means, that only the Revenue he now Projects shou'd be under the Management of Officers immediately appointed by and accountable to the Lords of Trade and their Treasurer, tho' the People of the Plantations must be greatly affected by such a Tax; it will undoubtedly be a Comfort to the respective Governors to be exempted from any Share in the Management thereof, since thereby they will be acquitted from any Imputation of concealment or Fraud, when the produce of this Revenue is found to fall far short of the mighty Expectation this Projector builds his Scheme upon. Which leads us to consider the last head of this ingenious Project.

Of a Revenue in America.

And here the Author confesses that all that has been said hitherto will signify very little unless such a Revenue can be raised to support the needfull Expence. This then is the Basis of the whole Scheme. And for which all that has been offered by him was written for if no such Revenue can be raised, there will be then no Employment for him, and what Pity will it be that such an Artfull Projector shou'd at last be left in the Lurch, who has with Twelve Years painfull Observations made such

mighty discoveries in the Plantation Trade as, bating some few particulars, were found out and well known long before he set his Foot in America. However, a Revenue it seems must be raised, or else all these fine Improvements must come to Nothing, And therefore he humbly submits it, whether the Duties of Stamps upon Paper & Parchment may not with good reason be extended by Act of Parliament to all the American Plantations. Now to understand the reason for extending this Duty to America, it may not be improper to consider, what may probably be the produce of this Duty to answer the use for which it is intended. As to the Duties on Parchment there is so little of that used at least on the Continent of America, that the Projector will hardly find a Man that will farm it at 100£ a Year; for seeing all Deeds and Conveyances are in the Plantations put on Record, People are in little concern whether the Originals are preserved or not, and therefore few Persons are at the Expence of engrossing such Conveyances on Parchment. Then as to the Stamps on Paper on which it is supposed all the Proceedings in the Court of Judicature are written, and all bonds and other Writings Obligatory; besides the great inequality between the Numbers of People and the Riches of England, and that of the Plantations, and consequently a great disproportion in the Number of Law Suits, with the summary way of Proceeding of all small Causes in the latter; and if to this it be considered, that in the Management of this Duty many Officers must necessarily be employed in so large a Circuit as the American Plantations, it is much to be doubted whether this Duty will amount to much more than the Charge of Management; And it is humbly submitted whether it be at all reasonable to burden the useful People of the Plantations with such a Duty, for the sake of maintaining a Number of useless Officers. But as neither the Projector of this Duty, nor any

other Person can form any certain computation of what it may produce. It seems very preposterous for him to build on such a Slight Foundation, those mighty Superstructures of maintaining Judges in all the Provinces a standing Force in each, erecting Forts, paying the Board of Trade, and all other Officers employed in the Plantation Affairs. For as all Commissions and other Instruments which pass under the great Seal and pay the highest Duties are to be excluded out of the Computation of this Revenue, so there are many Writs, Processes, and other Instruments at Law which are charged with this Duty in England, that are unknown in most of the Plantations; as are also Presentations, Institutions and Inductions to Ecclesiastical Benefices, and many other Publick Instruments, which bring in large Sums there. But there is one insuperable difficulty in the collection of this Duty which must not be omitted, and that is the want of Coin (which this Writer might well have remember'd) wherewith to discharge it. In New England, New York, the Jerseys, Pensilvania, and both the Carolinas there is a Paper Currency in which all Publick Taxes and Fees are paid, and in which the Bulk of their Commerce is carried on, and as this Paper Money bears a different Value in each several Province, and in all of them a great disproportion from Sterling Money, so in the Tobacco Plantations of Virginia and Maryland for want of Coin the Publick dues and Officers Fees are paid in Tobacco. It will therefore be almost impracticable to raise this Duty with that Equality which the Wisdom of the Parliament ever observes in Taxing the Subjects. But supposing this difficulty cou'd be surmounted, by allowing the Plantations to pay this Tax as they do other Duties, how can this Revenue be remitted to the Treasury of the Board of Trade? Will he accept of the Paper Bills of Credit, or of the Tobacco of Virginia or Maryland? For tho' there are many People in America

ready enough to part with their own Paper Money, and to allow a considerable for Bills of Exchange payable in London; Yet I believe the Author of this Extraordinary Scheme would be hard put to it to find one man of Credit in the Plantations, to give Sterling Money in England for those Paper Bills; especially for any such Sum as the Author supposes this Duty to raise; and it is very apparent that the worthy Author did not think so far at his Entrance on to this Scheme, or in the finishing of it Artfully concealed it, being unwilling to start a difficulty which must overthrow his whole Design, for, to borrow an elegant expression from him, which upon another Occasion he makes use of, "The Inconsistency of the Thing dos presently obtrude itself upon our Minds." But it may possibly be alledged this Fund is at present supposed to raise no more than will maintain the Itenerant Judges and pay the Soldiers. It is true the Itenerant Judges such as the Writer proposes need be under no concern for the Payment of their Salaries in Paper-Money or in Tobacco, seeing they are in Turns to travel through all these Provinces in the Discharge of their Duty, if their allowances are not very large they will find Opportunities enough in their Circuits to spend all they receive without puzzling their Brains about remitting it for England. But the Case of the Soldiers of the standing Army is really to be pitied, if ever they shou'd be commanded to march out of their respective Provinces to a general Rendezvous in another, for the Pay they receive in One Province, will not purchase them (were there Publick Houses as there are none) one Pot of Ale in another, nor is it possible to encamp them, or Canton them, in such a Manner upon a March, as may in some Degree relieve them either from Hunger or Thirst. In this Sence only the Independancy of the several Provinces, if they upon any Account deserved to be suspected, is highly to be applauded, but the Reader will prevent me enlarging on this Head,

and therefore I shall finish my Answer to this Article with only adding, that many Bills very rarely pass beyond the Limits of the Country where they are Coin'd, and that I fear our Authors standing Army will be fitter to disband than fight, whenever there shall be occasion to draw them together to oppose an Enemy. From what has been offered in Answer to this Discourse, it is hoped that the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, to whom the consideration thereof is Submitted, will have little regard to the Visionary Scheme of our Author seeing what he has now advanced tends to no kind of benefit to the Crown, or real Advantage to Great Britain, but of most pernicious Consequence to the Plantations in General. and that their Lordships will interpose to preserve to the loyal Subjects of his Majesty's Plantations, the same Share of Royal Favours which they now happily enjoy; that their Lordships will have the Goodness to discourage all Projects tending to Subvert that Establishment under which the Plantations have so long been happily Governed, in fine that they will be pleased, to oppose this Vain Scheme of extending the Stamp Duties to the American Plantations, which can only prove an intollerable burden to the poor Inhabitants, without any real advantage to our most Gracious Sovereign, or the British Nation.

Propositions made to the Five Nations of the Indians, to wit, Ma- 1722
quase, Oneydes, Cayouges, Ounundaques, and Sinnekes, by his Aug. 29
Excellency Alexander Spotswood, Esq^r Lieutenant Governor of
His Majesty's Dominion of Virginia, in Albany the 29th day of
August 1722.

Present.

His Excellency Alexander Spotswood, Governor of Virginia, Col^o Nath^l Harrison, of His Majesty's Council of Virginia; Col^o William Robinson, a Member of the House of Burgeses of Virginia.

Sachims and Warriors of the Five Nations;

I **Y**OU often say that your Covenant Chain with Virginia is grown rusty, and have urg'd of late Years that some Commissioners from that Colony shou'd be sent to this Place to brighten the same.

This is an old Story, which the People of Virginia remember to have been continually rung in their Ears, & are Sensible that none of the many Treaty's which they have made for near fifty years pass'd, have ever been long observed on the part of the Five Nations; Wherefore I am now come hither as Governor of Virginia, accompanied by some Members of that Government, in order to try if Our Covenant Chain cannot be so polished, as never more to grow rusty, and to endeavour at Establisshing an everlasting Peace between your people and our's; Comprehending not only the Christian Inhabitants of Virginia but also the Several Nations of Indians belonging and Subject to that Government; And according to the Custome of this Place, I signify to you this Proposition by giving Two Belts of Wampum, the one for the Government of Virginia, and the other for all its Tributary Indians.

1722
Aug. 29

Nothing but your assuredly promising (as you did here last year to your Governor) that you would agree to the Preliminary Articles Offer'd by Virginia, could have perswaded that Government to send hither to treat with you; And therefore I enter upon any other Matter, I expect you ratify and confirm that Principal Article, which you have declared that you will faithfully observe, if I will take Care that Indians perform the same on their part, Viz. That the Great River of Potowmack & the High Ridge of Mountains which extend all along the Frontiers of Virginia to the Westward of the present Settlement of that Colony, shall be forever the Established Boundaries between the Indians Subject to the Dominion of Virginia, & the Indians belonging to and depending on the Five Nations so that neither our Indians shall on any pretence whatsoever pass to the Northward or Westward of the said Boundaries without haveing to produce a Passport under the hand and Seal of the Governor or Commander in Chief of Virginia; nor your Indians pass to the Southward or Eastward of the said Boundaries, without a passport in like manner from the Governor or Commander in Chief of New York.

Now not only our Indians have given us Solemn Assurances of their keeping within the prescribed Limits; But we have also by this Act of Assembly taken such Measures for their due performance of the same, as that the Government of Virginia undertakes and engages for their Indians in this particular, so that nothing remains but that the five Nations ratifie and confirm the said Article, which I expect should now be done in a Solemn Manner, not only their Sachims but also by all their Warriors here present; And for that purpose I offer you this fine Coronett as a Singular Token, to be held up in the presence of all who are upon this occasion Assembled, by that Person whome you shall appoint to declare the General Assent of the Five Nations to this Proposition, and let all your People present at the same

time give a Shout, to be taken as a Signal Testimony of their Concurrence, besides I will have it signed by your Sachims and myself before I will either propose or present you with any thing further on the part of Virginia. 1722
Sept. 6

Interpreted by Lawrence Claese after it was
translated into Dutch by Rob^t Livingston.

Answer of the Five Nations of Indians, Viz, the Maquase, Oneydes, Onnondages Cayouges and Sinnekes, to His Excellency Alexander Spotswood Governor of His Majesty's Dominion of Virginia, in Albany the 6th day of September 1722.

Present.

His Excellency Alexander Spotswood Governor of Virginia,
Col^o Nathaniel Harrison a Member of his Majesty's
Council of Virginia, Col^o William Robinson a Mem-
ber of the House of Bergeffes of Virginia.

Brother Assarigoe (the name of the Governors of Virginia,
which signify's a Simmitter or Cutlafs which was given to
the Lord Howard Anno 1784, from the Dutch word
Hower a Cutlafs)

WE the Sachims of the Five Nations, the Mquase, Oneydes Onnondages Cayouges and Sinnekees together with the Tuscarurors are come here upon the Governor of New York's Message.

We have heard the Prepropositions of the Governor of Virginia with great attention, and considered it very Maturely ; but before we Answer, We must impart what our Ancestors have done with respect to this Government.

When the Christians first came here, they came in a great Ship, and we were glad of their coming and fasten'd the Ship

1722
 Sept. 6

behind a great Tree, and our business then was Trading and Merchantize, And considering the Benefit thereof, and that the Tree to which the Ship was fasten'd might rott, and so let the Ship go. We carried the Anchor behind a great Mountaine that so we might keep it for ever, and it was that desired the Christians to come and Settle among Us, and not they.

The third thing that was done by the Christians, and our Ancestors after they understood one another, was to enter into a Covenant of Friendship, which they called the Covenant Chain, and to the best of our knowledge, that Covenant has been kept by both parties from that time to this; And both our Ancestors were so prudent that they Stipulated and agreed, that if any bad accident or Mischief should happen on either side it shou'd be forgot and forgiven, not make a Breach in the Covenant Chain.

Brother Affarigoe

When the Neighbouring Governments of Virginia Pensylvania and New England, found how well we agreed they were gland to link their Hands in the said Covenant Chain, and there were Two Places, Viz^t Albany and Onnondage to meet at, and to settle a right understanding in Case any Mischief shou'd happen on either side.

Brother Affarigoe

We will not make any further mention of these old Stories of what our Ancestors did, but will now come to the point and Answer your Propositions, and we hope if our Answer should not be given with that respect and regard which is your due, you will excuse Us.

Brother Affarigoe

You told us some days ago, that the five Nations say the Covenant Chain which was made betwixt us and Virginia fifty

Years ago, is grown Rusty, and that we did not long keep or observe the Conditions of it, and you have forbid us to pass to the south side of the great Kahongarouton, which you call Patowmack, or to the East side of the great Ridge of Mountains which extends all along the Frontiers of Virginia. 1722
Sept. 6

In the first place, we agree to this Article, and faithfully promise not to pass over the great River Kahongarouton (by the English call'd Patowmack) nor the great Ridge of Mountains which extends along your Frontiers; We are glad you are come here to renew the Peace as well in behalf of the Christians, as the Indians of Virginia. We wish you had brought some of the Sachims of your Indians that they might have spoke to us face to face, and have put their hands into the Covenant Chain; But since you are come here, we agree to accept what you offer in their behalfs in the same Manner as if they were present.

And tho' there is a Nation among you the Toderechrones Christanna Indians against whome we have had so inveterate an Enmity that we thought it impossible it cou'd be extinguished but by a total Exterpartion of them, yet since you desire it we are willing to receive them into this Peace, and to forgive all that's past.

It had pleas'd God to make you Christians and us Heathens; but we hope we shall both Act according to our Capacities, and be faithfull to our respective promise and Engagements; some are placed in high Stations and some in Low, but there is one above who rules and governs all and will Judge us according to our Actions.

We hope, you will observe, that your Indians which you have engaged shall perform what you have promised for them, That they shall not pass to the Northward of the River Kahongarouton nor to the Westward of the great Ridge of Mountains;

1722
Sept. 6

And as you give us 2 Belts one from the Christians and the other from the Indians of Virginia, so we give you 2 Belts one for our Christians and the other for our Indians.

It is some time ago since you made this Proposition to us, and you must not take it amiss, that we have not answered you before; It was a thing of Great Importance and fit to be well Consider'd, and it is now agreed not only by all our Sachims, but also by all our Warriors as well those which were absent, as those which were present

You have told us that we pass the great River Kahunrouton and the great Ridge of Mountains, provided we have a passport from the Governor of New York; And we promise you again not to pass to the Southward or Eastward of the said Boundaries without such a Passport.

You told us, after this you had something further to propose relating to the General Peace, which we hope will now speak sincerely without dissimulation.

You told us, you had a Coronet which you would have held up by our speaker, and that at the same time We should make a Shout as a Token of our consent to this Article, which we are now ready to do.

And we are now ready since you have told us you were not Satisfy'd with our words in this matter of Consequence, to sign your Propositions in the most Publick manner.

All which was perform'd accordingly, and the speaker of the Five Nations holding up the Coronet they give Six Shouts, five for the five Nations, and one for a Castle of Tuscaruros lately seated between Oneyde and Onnondage.

And a Memorandum was made under the Proposition of the Governor of Virginia, importing that on the 6th Day of September 1722 the Sachims and Warriors of the

Propositions to the Five Nations of Indians. 255

Five Nations, together with divers Chiefs of the Tufcaruros made their Answer by Ondaghtite a Sachim of ¹⁷²² Aug. 29 Oneyde their Speaker chosen for that purpose, and did Solemnly declare the Assent of the whole five Nations including the Tufcaruros and fully agreed to the said Propositions relating to the Peace & Boundaries And that in Testimony thereof they held up the Coronet and signed those Propositions.

Interpreted by Lawrence Clese into the Dutch Language and rendered into the English by Rob^t Livingston.

Propositions made to the five Nations of Indians, Viz, Sennekes, Cayougues, Oneydes, and Mochock by the Governor of Virginia at Albany the 29th day of August 1722

Sachims and Warriors of the five Nations

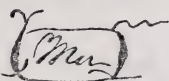
THE Propositions were, Verbatim the same as the foregoing only these were Signed.

ALEXANDER SPOTSWOOD

And on the 6th day of September following, the Sachims and Warriors of the five Nations together with divers Chiefs of the Tufcaruros made their Answer Odalifekla a Sachim of Oneyde their Speaker Chosen for this purpose, and did Solemnly declare the Assent of the whole five Nations including the Tufcaruros and fully agreed to the above Propositions relating to the Peace and Boundaries. And in Testimony thereof the said Speaker held up the Coronet, and the Indians gave a Shout,

1722 and divers of their Sachims made their Signs to this Instru-
 Aug. 29 ment.

TAGNAYANONT
 Sachim of the Mohocks



Done in the presence of

NATHANIEL HARRISON A Membr of the Council of Virginia

WILLIAM ROBINSON a Membr of the House of Burgs Virg:^a

JOHN RANDOLPH Secretary to the Treaty

TEHONNENHOKARAWÉ

als HENRIC Sachim

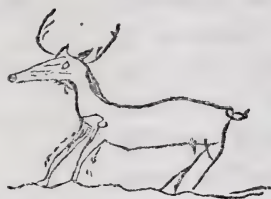
of the Mohocks

ACNCHIAWCERAT, Sachim

DEKANISON, Sachim

OLSOGHKORE, Sachim

IGHUEDA als; Arya
 Sachim of the
 Mohocks



Of Onyde Onondagues {
 ODATSICHTA Sachim & Speaker
 OTSIGHWATHIGHSE Sachim
 DEHAARAGHKORES Sachim
 KAHESKEROWAND Sachim
 AYEGHWAGHTA Sachim
 ODIAGHUA Sachim

DAGARAGHOUT Sachim

KANIENCODE Sachim

SAGAYENGWARACHTON
 alas

BLACKBICK Sachim

} Sennekaes

DECAUISORE Great Sachim
 of Onondagus.

SAWUITKA

ADORIES

SKETOWAS.

} Tufcaruos Chiefs

Present.

1722
Sept. 10

His Excellency Alex^r Spotswood, Governor of Virg^a

Col^o Nath^l Harrison, a Member of his Majesties Council of Virg^a

Col^o William Robinson, a Memb^r of the House of Burg^s of Virg^a.

Col ^o Peter Shuyler	} Elq ^r Com ^{ds} for the Ind ^{us} Affairs	The further Propositions of the Gov ^r of Virginia to the five Nations of Indians on the 10 th of September 1722 immedi- ately after the Indians had ended their Answer to Sir William Keith Bart ^r Go- vernor of Pennsylvania.
Peter Vanbrugh		
Hend: Hennse		
John Collins,		
Phillip Levingston		

Interpreted by Lawrence Claese into the
Dutch Language, and render'd into the
Englsh by Rob^t Levingston.

Sachims and Warriors

3^d SINCE the Bounds between your Indians and Our's are
firmly agreed upon 'tis necessary now to declare the
Names of the Several Nations of Indians which the Govern-
ment of Virginia engages for, And those are the Nottoways,
Meherins, Nansemonds, Pamunkeys, Chicahominy, and the
Christanna Indians whome you call the Todirickroones, but we
comprehend under that name the Saponies Ochineeches Stenke-
knocks Meipoutskys and Toteroſe; All the aforementioned Indians
haveing their present Settlements on the East side of the high
Ridge of Mountains and between the two great Rivers of
Potowmack and Roanoke which you call Kahungarouton and
Kenentchenechke, And on the other hand it is fit at this time
that you declare the names of all those Nations whome you

1722 comprehend in the present Treaty, and for whose performance
 Sept. 10 the Five Nations will Answer.

And to mind you of this Proposition I lay down for our ten Nations of Indians ten Guns.

4 I have already told you, that we have made a Law in Virginia to oblige a due performance of that Article of the Boundaries which you have here lately ratified, and its' highly expedient that I now particularly inform you thereof.

If any Indians of the aforementioned Nations belonging to Virginia, or those whome you declare to be dependent on your five Nations shall hereafter transgress the said Boundaries without haveing the proper Passports already mention'd every such Indian is by the Law lyable to be put to Death or transported and Sold for a Slave. And as the Government of Virginia will not Demand Satisfaction for whatever you shall do to any of their Indians whome you shall take on the North side of the high Ridge of Mountains, so your People must not Look upon it as any breach of the Peace and Friendship which Virginia desires to preserve with the Five Nations, if that Government shall hang or transport any of your Indians, who shall hereafter be taken without a proper passport on the South side of the said River, and on the East side of the said Ridge, And I cannot but think that the wiser sort of your people must approve of a Law that will oblige your foolish and ungovernable young men to harken (better than they have always done) to the sage Councils of their Elders, and to observe more punctually a Treaty which their Sachins have thought fitt to make for them, and in Token of your five Nations, as well as our ten Nations of Indians being bound by this Law, I give fifteen Guns; And that you and your Children may at all times to come truly understand what is contained in it, I have brought it hither under the Seal of the Colony of Virginia, and now Lodge it in the Hands of this Government.

Further Propositions of the Governor of Virginia made to the five Nations on the 11th of September 1722. 1722
Sept. 11

Sachims and Warriors,

5 **I**T appears to be a Method agreed upon by your five Nations to receive no Proposals, nor have any manner of Treaty with any of the English Provinces than through the Governor of New York to which you belong; Wherefore Virginia expects you should observe the same Rule with respect to that Government, And that you should not at any time offer to treat with the Indians belonging to that Colony but thro' the Government there; And if you should come to Virginia with an Intent to treat with our Indians in any other Manner though you should have a Passport from the Governor of New York you must expect it will be held void, and you will be treated as if you came without it & with this Proposition I give you a Belt.

You sent me last Year a Belt of Wampum as a Testimony of your promise that you would Seize and carry to Virginia some Runaway Negroes belonging to that Colony, whenever you did discover and meet them in the Woods. Now I make a General Proposition to you on Account of Runaway Negros and Slaves, belonging to Virginia, Viz^t That if any such Negro or Slave shall hereafter fall into your hands, you shall straight way conduct 'em to Col^o George Masons House on Potowmack River, and I do in behalf of that Colony engage that you shall there receive immediately upon Delivery of every such Runaway, one good Gun, and two Blankets, or the Value thereof, And in token of this Proposition and Engagement I lay down 5 Guns & 500 Flints.

7th You sent this Year to demand of Virginia four Indian Boys to be delivered up to you, for four of your Messengers

1722
 Sept. 11
 which, you alledged, our Indians had poison'd, whereupon I must tell you that, that Government has absolutely rejected your Demand, and is too strong & powerfull to be Scared by the Threats of the Five Nations into any unjust Compliance; And I am here ready to justify, not only our Indians against this Charge; but also to answer for the Colony of Virginia and give all due Satisfaction if you can make it appear that our People have ever broken the Covenant Chain with any of the Five Nations. And to put you in Mind of what I say on this head, I lay down five Bundles of Beads.

8 On the other hand, I came hither to accuse the People of the five Nations, of divers Hostilities Robberies, and repeated Broches of their Treaties, but since you have declared your desire that all past offences shou'd be forgiven & forgot, and have now on your part readily past over an Injury received from a Christian in Pensylvania; And more especially seeing you have so fully concured in my Proposition of the Boundaries which if you if duely observed must effectually prevent all future Disorders and Injuries to Virginia; I shall at this Juncture, forbear all particular Charges against you, except only that I must say, you have so greatly wronged this Person (Cap^t Rob^t Hicks) when you kill'd his Negro with about Seventy of his Horses and plunder'd him of a Considerable Cargo of Goods; That to shew the five Nations have any sense of Justice, they cannot but make him some Amends and Reparation of his Losses.

And in Token of Virginia now burying all Revenge and enmity for your past misdeeds, I lay down a Belt.

9th Above 600 Miles have we from Virginia come hither to treat with you nine days after the appointed time of our Meeting did we wait before I could have the Opportunity of speaking to you, and nine days longer before you answer'd my first propositions; So that seeing a Treaty at albany occasions so much Trouble and Expence you must not expect that the

Government of Virginia will again agree to the renewing of it 1722
after this manner in this place; Wherefore let not your young Sept. 11
Warriors be possess'd with the foolish Expectations of Provoking
a Governor of Virginia by their Incursions to come hither
again to persuade you to observe this Treaty; for, be assured,
the people there are resolved henceforth to compel an Ob-
servance thereof and I hope, your firm Intentions are to behave
yourselves so towards Virginia, as that we may forever acknow-
ledge the five Nations to be our friends & Allies,

And in Testimony of our Understanding this present Treaty
to be made upon this Footing of what I have declar'd in my
foregoing Propositions, I shall so soon as I have received your
Answer lay down such a considerable Token, as that not only
your Sachims & Warriors but also your Women and Children
may bear some Remembrance of this Treaty.

1722 *A further Answer of the five Nations to His Excellency Alexander*
 Sept. 12 *Spotswood Governor of Virginia in Albany the 12th of Sept*
 1722.

Present

His Excellency Alexander Spotswood Governor of Virginia,
 Col^o Nathaniel Harrison, Esq^r one of his Majesty's Council
 of Virginia

Col^o Will^m Robinson Esq^r a Mem^r of the House of Burgeſſes
 of Virginia.

Col ^o Peter Schuyler	} Esq ^{rs} Comm ^r of Indians
Hend, Hanſe	
Peter Hanbrugh	
Phill, Livingſton	
John Collins	
Jo ^s Bleacher	

Brother Aſſarigoe

YOU are come 600 Miles to treat with us and we are very
 Glad to ſee You. You have made your Propoſitions to
 Us, wherein you call us, Sachims and Warriors of the five
 Nations, and acquainted us, ſince we agreed not to paſs the
 River Kahongarouton, nor the great Ridge of Mountains; that
 there is a Law in Virginia prohibiting us to paſs that River or
 thoſe Mountains, under the Penalty of being transported and
 fold for Slaves, or put to Death; We do aſſure you, we are
 well Satisfied with that Law, and deſire that thoſe Boundaries
 may be for ever obſerved. You have alſo told us that you will
 engage for ten Nations of Indians in Virginia, that they ſhall
 not paſs to the North ſide of the River Kahongarouton nor to
 the weſtward of the Mountains, and that if we ſhou'd meet
 with any of them without thoſe Bounds We might uſe them as
 we pleaſ'd, without breaking this Peace; Notwithſtanding

which we assure you, if any of your Indians shall happen in our way, we will not hurt them, but treat them as friends, and give them Victuals so desirous we are of being at Peace with them. 1722
Sept. 12

Brother Assarigoe

As you engaged for ten Nations, so do we Viz^t for the five Nations and for the Tuscaruros and Connestogoes, Chuanoes, Ochtaghquanawrorocnes, Ostagankees which live upon Sasquahana River. You likewise told us, that we had made it a Rule, not to treat with any of the Neighbouring Governments but at Albany, so you expected we should not treat with your Indians but through the Government of Virginia, and that tho' we should with a Pass, we must not treat seperately with those Indians, for the pass will be lookt upon as Void if we should. We agree to this Proposition, and promise that we will not at any time make any Treaty with the Virginia Indians without first acquainting the Governor therewith, and thereupon we give a Belt.

Brother Assarigoe

You told us yesterday, that you would not sum up any of our former Misdeeds, but would forgive all that was passd. We acknowledge, our People have been guilty of a great many bad Actions, and heartily thank you that you are so good as to forgive them, And as to that honest man Cap^t Hicks we own our People did rob him of a great considerable Booty, and did him a great deal of Mischief; But by an Accident that befell us afterwards, it happen'd we got very little by it, for the woods being very dry, by the Negligence of some of own people, took fire, and thereby we lost the most part of what we had taken; Nevertheless when we are able, we do promise to make that poor Man some Reparation for his loss, but at this Juncture we are not in a Capacity of doing it. We have now made a Peace

1722 with you, and we hope it will be by us and our Childrens
 Sept. 12 Children for ever; And thereupon we give a Belt.

Brother Affarigoe

As to the Proposition you made relating to Negroes We promise that if any Runaway Negroes or Slaves shall happen to fall into our Hands, We will carry them to Col^o Mafons on Potowmack River, for the Reward proposed; But as to those Negroes, which you said, we promised last year to send home, We hope you'll excuse us, because they lye very much out of our way, and may be had more easily by other Indians. Yet if we can Serve Virginia in any other thing, We shall be Glad of an Op^{ty} of doing it.

Now Brother Affarigoe

Since we are resolved in case We should find any of your Virginia Indians, on the West side of the Great Mountains or the Northside of the River Kahongarouton not to do them any hurt, We desire you would tell them when they make Fires beyond these Boundaries to lay a Stone in them, when they leave their Quarters; And we will do the same, which will be a sign to us both, that our Friends have pass'd.

And lastly, we desire that this Peace may be kept by Us and our Childrens Children, who will rejoice for the Making and conducting thereof. We have a Small Present to make you and hope you will accept it tho' it is a small one, and excuse us that we are not able to give more, And then they gave some Furs and Deerkins.

The Governor told them they had taken no notice of the Proposition wherein he Mentioned their Demand of four Indian Boys to be deliver'd up to them, for four of their Messengers, which they had Charged the Virginia Indians with poisoning; and desired to know whether they were Satisfied that Accusation

was just. To which they Answered, they well assured it was 1722
not so: That one of the Persons, who went with those Indians Sept. 12
to Virginia, was then present, and they were Satisfied they died
natural Deaths, and had nothing to accuse Virginia of.

The Governor thank'd them for their Present and said he did not look upon it, according to its Value but accepted it, as if it had been much more. He said he wished it had been Greater only on Account of Cap^t Hicks to whom he gave it as a small Satisfaction of the Damage he had sustained by the five Nations. Then they wished him a good Voyage home, and told him they, should be Glad to hear of his safe Arrival.

Then the Governor told them, he must take particular Notice of their Speaker and give him a Golden Horse-Shoe, which he wore at his Breast, and bid the Interpreter tell him, there was an Inscription upon it which Signified, that it would help to pass over the Mountains; And that when any of Their People should come to Virginia, with a pass, they should bring that with 'em; And then the Gov^r gave 'em his presents which amounted to about Three hundred & fifty Pounds New York Money.

Interpreted by Lawrence Chaeſe into
the Dutch Language & rendred into
English by Rob^t Livingſton.

FINIS.



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